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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

HERMAN;

OR,

YOUNG KNIGHTHOOD.

BY E. FOXTON,

Author of "Prémices."

CHAPTER I—Continued.

"Good gracious," ejaculated the discomfited Bobby, coloring up to the tips of his gloves.

"Served her right for eves-dropping?" rejoined Mr. Jack Robinson, who was, like a mosquito, very venomous for one of his size.

In the mean time, the supper-room was pouring up its tide into the drawing-rooms again, like a reflex wave from the Spouting-Horn; and a few skirmishing waltzes were preluding the last grand engagement.

"Jove, what a stunner!"

"A screamer! Who is it?"

Neither a pugilist nor a town-crier, as these epithets—evidently, from the tone in which they were uttered, intended to be complimentary, though certainly a little alarming if employed to characterize feminine attributes—would have seemed to imply, was entering the room, but a superb girl of eighteen or nineteen, as tall and fleet-looking, and almost as slender, as Diana's spear, and just now, at least, looking almost as sharp and fatal. Her outline was as oriental as Rebecca's; and she seemed to breathe from every feature an expression of indignant pride, which would not have misbecome that heroine when she threatened to dash herself down from the battlements. At her side moved a slender but very shapely youth, whose height, and age, too, apparently, scarcely exceeded hers. He would have been, like her, uncommonly handsome, but for the unnatural paleness which discolored his fine, earnest, oval, olive face—a paleness made the more conspicuous by the bright blackness of *his moustache,* and thick flat curls, and the almost blackness of his burning, brown eyes. They passed, speaking little, and in tones too low to be heard above the general outcry of conversation about them. He looked much at her; she straight on, with a gaze which seemed to pierce the very walls and the future before her. When her lips unclosed, he grew, if possible, whiter.

"I know who it must be! Miss Constance Aspenwall, of South Carolina. She was to be here. They say she's worth four hundred thousand dollars, niggers and all."

"Put it up to a million, while you're about it, Bob. But, by George, what a temper she must have!"

"Don't want such a short partner, I suppose," said Mr. Bob Jones, unrolling; and drawing *up his back*—six feet of skin and bone—as if he had been a tape measure, from the divan on which he had been lounging. "Guess I shall have to try my luck. If she's cross, I'll"——

"Hallo! Why, that's Herman Arden with her! It's a perfect tableau of Judith and Holofernes! Do you know what he did the other night?"

"Got tight?"

"I should think so. He went and made a nasty sneaking Abolition speech at a caucus."

"What got into him?"

"The deuce, I suppose. I wonder he dares show himself anywhere among genteel people. He might have known Mrs. Mydass didn't want him here, and only asked him because she couldn't get along without her 'dear friends,' his brother and sister. He must have some brass to speak to a Southerner after it, a lady especially."

"Hallo, Miss Blaise. I'm not ready for you yet. You know Miss Aspenwall, don't you? Present me to her first, will you?"

"Miss Aspenwall, Mr. Jones. Mr. Jones, Miss Aspenwall."

"May I have the pleasure?" said Mr. Jones, extending his arm.

"I thank you, sir. I never waltz."

"Oh, then, you don't know how much you are losing! One turn with me will whirl every scruple to the winds; and"——

"You will have the goodness to excuse me, sir. Good evening." She swept off to a window, but there she found herself followed still, by Herman. "What does this mean, Mr. Arden?"

"Good heavens, Constance! what *does* it mean? Do you know what you are doing? You know, you must know, how, what you are, and what you are to me! And that I offer you a heart not worthy of such a prize as yours; whose could be? But, if there is no tenderness in yours to plead for it, I must say for myself, a true, fresh, loyal heart, at least, ready and eager to serve you to the death, second only to the God who made you; and to love you, only, I dare not say, less than Him—but only too well; and you trample it in the dust beneath your feet, turn upon me, and cast me down at one stroke from the threshold of heaven to hell, and reject me; not, as you have a full and unquestioned right to do, with womanly gentleness and consideration, due both to your character and mine, but with scorn and insult, with no explanation. Is this worthy of you?"

The color that the smothered vehemence of his low and hurried words had brought back into his face, and the sort of indignant tenderness that glowed in it, made him perfectly beautiful. Constance's bosom heaved for an instant; for she was a girl, and not a heartless girl—but it was only for an instant; for she was a haughty and resolute woman.

"Perhaps it is not."

"Of your rejection I do not claim a right to ask an explanation."

Poor fellow! If he had not been the most delicate and generous of lovers, he might have claimed all the right to ask it, that could be given him by all the tacit acceptance of his tacit wooing, which a most maidenly and retiring girl could grant.

"Of the manner of it, I do."

"You shall have it."

"When? I have pressed you far enough already, for such a place as this."

"You have, indeed!"

"Oh, Miss Aspenwall!"

"To-morrow morning, if you please, at half past eleven."

"Will you allow me to inquire for your coach?"

"No, I thank you. Mr. Van Rooselandt is here."

CHAPTER II.

The Knight's Lady.

"A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,
And most divinely fair."—*Tennyson.*

"Être la destinée voilée d'un grand homme, agir par sa main, grandir dans son sort, briller sous son nom, c'était la seule ambition que lui fût, permise ambition tendre et devouée qui séduit la femme, comme elle suffit au génie des interessée."—*Lamartine.*

Constance Aspenwall was a very intelligent, very *high-flown,* and, as she would have said with pride, a very high-spirited girl; or, as she ought to have felt, with shame, a very high-tempered girl. She was an orphan. Her only brother had thought himself summoned by the love of glory and of his country, to leave her, in the year 1847, and go and try to shoot some Mexicans, for endeavoring to defend their families and certain lands belonging to them, which these United States would have been much better without, and did not want, but which a few slaveholding individuals thought that they did, for the better holding of their slaves and supremacy. His enterprise terminated in the Mexicans, very naturally, shooting him.* The poor young man, though ignorant and infatuated, was generous and well-meaning, and deserved a better fate, like many other light-hearted and thoughtless youths, who were butchered like beasts, or broken down for life, in that miserable and wicked war. To make other little sisters fatherless and brotherless, he left his own, crying bitterly, to the rearing of strangers, and his negroes, crying more bitterly and with more reason, to the tender mercies of unoverseen overseers.

How the negroes fared, never fully transpired. Colonel Rochemaurice, Constance's cousin, and guardian of her property, conscientiously visited her plantation once in every twelvemonth, and usually found it expedient to place the management of it in new hands; but that was all that he found time to do in regard to it, except to see that a proper amount of produce was regularly forthcoming, and sold, and that the proceeds were profitably invested.

Constance herself, in the mean while, had done neither so well nor so ill as she might have done. The influences of a gentle and genial home, invaluable to a rich but wayward nature like hers, were lost to her. She was kept, for the most part, during the remainder of her minority, at one and another boarding-school at New York, where she imbibed the necessary amount of spelling, arithmetic, and languages, and learned to draw and paint a little, and play and sing magnificently. She was not generally beloved by her schoolmates, because she did not generally love them; though she always had one or two retainers, who admired her beauty, applauded her spirit, shared her lavish allowance of pocket-money, and until she fell out with them in their turn, were very fond of her, as they could hardly help being; for, when she allowed herself to be gentle and fond, all the concentrated warmth of her natural disposition burst forth and warmed the few on whom it fell, as the June sun is hottest when it breaks through a hole in the clouds on an overcast day. She wished to be a queen among her companions. She was crushing in her scorn to rebels, though her obedient subjects found in her a powerful and bounteous protectress.

Alas, poor youth! How Nemesis stalks at your heels, picking up your every fault, and sowing it, to raise a harvest of sorrow for your reaping in after days! How each of your peccadilloes grows up into a habit? And how are you suffered, rashly, confidently, unfearing, to entangle and knot the thread of which the web of all your earthly life—the only life for which most of us care much now—is woven! Such as Constance had been in her school, such she came out of her school, and, thinking to bend a playful, caressing kitten to her will, laid the full weight of her girlish hand, on what rose under it a kingly young lion!

Even when kind to her companions, she "felt," that is to say, fancied herself immeasurably superior to them all. They were frivolous, girlish, childish. Their thoughts ran on dress and admirers; and it had never occurred to her to ask herself whether the indifference, for which she gave herself credit, on these points, was not the mere apathy of satiety—a satiety which met her at *nursery-parties* and summer watering-places, long before her regular *début.* They had no such aspirations as her's. She had a soul all on fire with what stood in her *mind* for the love of country; and the South stood in her mind for the country, and three hundred thousand slaveholders for the South. The denunciations of the South, which she met with in some quarters, and the equally indiscreet and violent denunciations of those denunciations, which she met with in others, alike inflamed her pseudo patriotism, and, as a Southern girl, she considered it incumbent upon her to hate the North. If her country would but point out to her some sacrifice which she could make, some service which she could render to it! If there were only Clorindas now, how she would rush to Mexico, and avenge the loss which she and her country had both sustained in her valiant brother's death! If she had been a man, she would have conquered for it this whole continent, from the pole to the isthmus; nay, perhaps to Cape Horn—bigness standing in her mind for greatness—a rare mistake! but pardonable in a school-girl—and then, mighty in counsel as in arms, she would have consolidated it all into one vast republic. A crown should have been offered her by her grateful and adoring countrymen, but she would have majestically waved it aside, preferring to find her own glory in the grandeur and liberty of her exalted nation.

The South—meaning again the council of three hundred thousand—should govern it, *c'est-a-dire,* hold its government offices, and fight for it. The supple and pusillanimous, but ingenious and industrious, North, should be kept out of mischief, and suitably employed in fetching, carrying, spinning, and weaving, for it; and all within its borders should have been beautiful order, dominion, and glory—if she had been a man. Being not a man, however, she shrank instinctively, as most persons of fine feminine natures will, from wishing herself one, as a kind of sin against her nature. She turned from the dazzling vision, came down from the throne of her castle in the air, and set another lord upon it in her place, thus:

When she was emancipated from her school, and left behind her the prosaic and grovelling companions and teachers, who could not so much as understand her, far less sympathize with her, she expected to emerge, of course, like other heroines, into an appreciating and admiring world, all whose unmarried men would at once throw themselves at the feet of a creature endowed with such wealth, rank, intellect, spirit, and beauty. Most of her suitors would be too far beneath her for anything but her very scorn to stoop to; but among them there would still be one glorious kindred spirit, waiting only for the inspiration of her ardor, loveliness, devotion, and sympathy, to prove himself the mightiest champion and most stainless patriot of his age and time. Him she would cherish with her whole soul, and honor and obey—yes, indeed, it would be her own will to obey him—her mightier, grander, more magnificent self; and the beautiful untamable, won at last, would exult in the silken bonds and golden chains with which her love should fondly deck her and bind her to his side.

Ah, Constance! Our wishes often come within our reach in this dim life, but oftenest, perhaps, in a masquerading dress; and so we turn away from them, and are wiser and sadder when it is too late. We strike them down, it may be, with our own hands, and then the mask drops off, and we know them lying in the dust before us; but, though we weep and wring our hands over them, they are dead, and cannot rise again, and can return no more, or only as pale memories, which are the ghosts of hopes, to haunt us, in our lonely hours, with those "saddest of words, 'It might have been!'" How should the apostate crusader know that the helmeted page is his Rosalie? Why should he not clench his gauntleted hand against him? How can Penelope tell that the wandering supplicant on her hearth is her own longed-for and prayed-for Ulysses? Why may she not set the dogs upon him, or let the other suitors slay him? How can we see whether we are spurning our happiness or clasping our woe? How, indeed, if we are living like apostates or pagans? But there is a certain very old-fashioned, not to say obsolete, Book, which says, "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." And though this promise probably refers more directly to wisdom in the management of one's heavenly than one's earthly affairs, yet the two are closely connected; and heavenly wisdom would certainly save us from the most lamentable of our earthly errors, and from those bitterest of regrets which come, when we discover that we have suffered ourselves to be cheated into sacrificing some bliss, offered us by the God who serves us, to some demon whom we at the time were serving.

Constance, however, was not aware that she was in any want of wisdom, nor yet did she consider herself to be living in the least like an apostate nor a pagan; for she went to church at least once every Sunday, when the weather was fine, and scolded herself very hard, not to say very justly, out of a prayer-book. Out of church, to be sure, she thought humility a virtue fit only for servants, small traders, and clergymen. Hell, in her creed, was a very suitable place for dirty, ignorant, and wicked people, who used bad language, robbed, and murdered. It was very suitable and right that they should be kept somewhere out of the way of their betters, or else be burnt up at once. Now and then, too, there might be an exceptional condemnation to it, in the case of some unusually ill-behaved lady or gentleman, who died suddenly, or perversely and unaccountably refused on his death-bed to say he was sorry, repeat his prayers, and send for a clergyman. As for the possibility of anything like punishment for anything she did, ever coming near her, in this world or the next, she never imagined it. Her religion was negative, not positive. It forbade her to commit any State's Prison offences; and, if she refrained from such tempting indulgences during her mortal life, which she anticipated little difficulty in doing, it promised to confer upon her heaven at her death, not at all as a favor, but as her due and well earned wages. The doctrine of human neighborhood and Christian brotherhood she ignored altogether; and, in short, she was just as much of a Christian as she might have been if she had been a respectable Pharisee's well-reputed daughter, nineteen hundred years ago. Her God was the god of battles; and she thought the most victorious of warriors, conquering for his country in any cause, right or wrong, the greatest of heroes. I do wrong, however, to say that she *thought;* for, like most women, (and men, too,)* she had yet to learn to think. She took for her opinion the first ideas that came in her way, and for her worship the first idols, provided only that they had pretty names engraven on their pedestals.

Constance, in due time, quite grew up, (to the height of five feet eight inches,) and came out; but she found the world without the walls of her boarding-school almost as dull and unresponsive as that portion of the world which she had left behind, within them, after the first excitement of the really unusual sensation she made, by her beauty, grace, and reputed wealth, in a limited number of drawing-rooms, in a limited number of cities, was over. At first, indeed, young men were presented to her by half dozens, wherever she went. But of these, the *high-born,* as she was pleased, for want of a better term, after the fashion of romantic young ladies and a certain school of writers of instructive popular tales, to denominate the sons of successful merchants and professional political men, and grandsons of farmers and mechanics—proved too often to be of the *calibre* of Messrs. Bob Jones and Jack Robinson, cared more for dancing than talking in general, and talking on her favorite topics in particular, and stigmatized her as "slow," *blue,* and *strong-minded.* While the *low born*—namely, the sons of farmers and mechanics, (*mud-sills,* in the classic Carolinian tongue)—who, having come up from the plough and work-bench to the University, were slowly and surely working their way up, to be themselves successful professional and political men—youths whose minds had been as much more thoroughly trained than hers, as her manners had been than theirs—who could, some of them at least, have fully appreciated her wit and fancy, and amply repaid her with their own humor and sagacity, after their first shyness had been charmed away by a little feminine tact and kindness on her part; all these low-born youths were set down by her at once, for mere want of the habit of society, as boors utterly unworthy of her society, and repelled and frozen with icy looks and monosyllables. Having no near relations living at the South, except an aunt whose home was in Baltimore, but whose husband's business carried him frequently to Paris, she had never returned to her native State since she left it, and fell in with few young planters. Of these, fewer still appeared to her to be very liberally educated; and some were even addicted to "commencing to laugh," sailing *on* boats, instead of in them, and committing other offences too numerous to mention, against the idioms of what she had been taught to consider her vernacular, besides further embellishing the communication of their ideas by speaking English with what may be termed the Guinea accent, introducing from time to time certain startling guttural intonations, evidently learned while the organs of speech were still pliant, in conference with sable masters and mistresses not of the cultivated class of negroes. Then, again, even among the small number of persons whom she was disposed to like, she found, to her surprise, that not quite all were ready to like her. Some of them, adding to their good minds and manners good hearts, were much displeased with what they heard, if they did not chance to see, of her unamiable and unwarrantable contempt for others, whose feelings and worth they respected. In a word, she soon found herself as little popular out of school as she had been in it, and demonstrated an important proposition, which I here lay down for the benefit of all romance-reading young friends of mine—may they be many, when, if ever, my romance is printed—namely: those who live in a world of their own, can hardly ever get on at all well in the world of other people. The circle of possible sympathizers narrowed and narrowed wherever she went, until in Boston, in this present winter of 18—, the Arden family stood almost alone in her liking, and in liking her; but they suited her so well, that, in their company, she seemed and felt thoroughly amiable, charmed, and charming. There were only two brothers among them, however; and Edward, the oldest, was too indolent and epicurean; and Herman, the other, too little imposing, too little stern and mysterious, and, though two years her senior in age, too young in all his ways for her almost despaired-of hero; and where to look for him, she still could not tell; when, in the mean while, not only had Herman Arden fallen in love with her, which was to have been expected, and not at all extraordinary, but without in the least dreaming of such a thing—such things will happen sometimes—she had fallen in love with Herman Arden!

How such things *do* happen, perhaps the people to whom they happen even can seldom tell exactly; but these two people really had some points in common, and seemed at least to have many. Both were very romantic, to begin with; and he perfectly agreed with her in taking her superb physical beauty for the stamp of equally rare spiritual beauty. Both had earnest and aspiring natures, earnestly yearning after what presented itself to their minds as the noblest and the best. Though neither of them had hitherto discovered it, however, they were unlike in this—that while he stood ready to tear his way in all directions, save one, through his most cherished illusions, the moment he had cause to suspect that they were illusions, until he could come at the realities which they veiled, she hugged her illusions, and stood ready to tear, metaphorically of course, every reality, person, or thing, which came too near them. She loved the names of patriotism and glory; he, the names for the sake of the things. She felt, and did not think; he felt, but thought, too. She esteemed herself a genius; he was pretty near being one, without knowing it. He was mindful of what he considered his duty to his God; and this, and the modest hope that he was so, gave him an inward purity and dignity of life. She was mindful of what she considered her duty—to herself; and this, and the proud consciousness of it, gave her an outward purity and dignity of life. Unlike him, she could be revengeful—but, like him, never intentionally unjust. She could be arrogant and cruel in speech, as he never was; but her pouting lips knew not how to frame a lie. She was extremely vain, but she could not condescend to flirt nor to be flirted with.

Then Herman and she liked many of the same pleasures; and people who enjoy themselves together are apt to like each other—a truism worth the pondering of match-makers. He was an excellent rider, and always eagerly ready to escort her and Clara on his beautiful bay. He sang well in a duet, and read aloud much better. He read her favorite poets to her, as she worked or drew, and taught her to love some of his, when interpreted by his singularly musical, true, and spontaneous intonation, which often seemed, as she once told him, "as if the soul of the dead writer had got into his voice." He threw aside his Greek authors, to study Italian with her and his sister; and, though much more ignorant of the language than they at the outset, soon surprised them with the light which he could throw, at one glance, into dark places in the "*Divina Commedia,*" which had puzzled them for hours. There was no commission too difficult or too troublesome for him to execute zealously for Constance, at the slightest intimation from her that she would consent to accept his services; and they were always offered and rendered with a sort of chivalrous courtesy particularly to her taste, which seemed to imply that, in doing her will, he did his own, and that to honor her was the highest honor he could pay himself. Still, she could only fancy him her page, and not her knight, until once, after he had been off on a scientific expedition for a week or two with Mr. Agassiz, she perceived that the page could not be dispensed with, while the knight was not forthcoming; that Herman loved her with all his heart, and that she could not very well help loving him in like manner. Since it could not be helped, therefore, the best thing to be done seemed to be to get the page knighted. In plainer English, though she had now been two years out of school, and the original castle had been a good deal battered down in spite of her, by contact with the hard battering-ram of fashionable life, she wished that the ruins should be manned for her by a helpmeet, who should at least be a statesman high in office; and as Herman was so fond of her, and so very clever and obliging, she believed that she might make him the profitable servant of her ambition, supporting the comparative weakness of his character by the strength of her own. She had understood that his family, in all its branches, had always belonged to that wing of the Whig party which belonged to Slavery. She would with him return to South Carolina, and there invest all of the ready money she could raise, if necessary, in negroes, of which she believed that she must already have a large stock. Their votes should in part elect him to Congress, and her beauty and popularity—for, to promote such an object, she would stoop for once to court popularity—should do the rest. Once in the House of Representatives, with his natural abilities, and the stimulus which her commanding energies should give him, what should stop him? She saw, through no very long vista of probabilities, herself presiding like a Queen at the White House, and him Commander-in-chief of the American army.

Herman, also, had his secret day-dreams, in which love, patriotism, and glory, figured largely, though it remains to be seen how far they could be made to coincide with her's. God is the only common end towards which all men and women can press forward, side by side, and ever nearer to one another, in harmonious, concentric, converging lines; most other objects do but lead them asunder, or make them cross one another's paths continually.

On the night before that of the ball, Herman had signalized his coming of age by making, in an informal public meeting, professedly open to men of all parties, his maiden speech. All sorts of opinions were expressed about it, of course—according to the notions previously fixed in the minds of the hearers. The radicals present stigmatized it as time-serving; the *soi-disants* conservatives as seditious; but all the judges of oratory, who did not happen to be too angry to exercise their judgment, were agreed that, though rather too good for the occasion, in eloquence, scholarly finish, and statesman-like information, it would not have been unworthy of William Pitt at the age of the speaker. Furthermore, Dr. Lovel, a certain dear old divine, who chanced to be among the hearers, and whose very heart was sore with the denunciations of *one* party, and the sordid cotton talk of the other, stayed a day the longer away from his rural parsonage, to drop in on Clara, with whom he always ate his Sunday beef when he preached in town, and enchant her with the assurance that, if Herman could but indoctrinate the other youth of the country with his spirit of enlightened and self-sacrificing patriotism, he would do as great a work as Washington's, free the slaves and masters at the same time, and cement the Union more indissolubly than ever with universal peace and good will. Clara sent out to Whitney's immediately for worsteds and canvas to work two pair of beautiful slippers, one for the praised and one for the praiser.

But Constance! Was not she enchanted, too? She was furious—I beg her pardon, indignant—and the little scene at the ball was the result. But, then, to do her justice, the news first reached her through one of the partisan newspapers—those licensed false witnesses against their neighbors!—and it wailed its usual dirge, cat-like in its monotony, over the Union, and rang its knell with a bell with Herman's tongue in it.

All through the next day—most unlucky of Fridays—he had not once been near her—for a very good reason. He was correcting and re-writing his speech, from the copious notes which a very rapid reporter had taken of it, that it might as soon as possible be laid fairly, and in fair type, before the public, in the place of the incoherent or garbled and spiteful extracts and abstracts, which the public was now straining its spectacles and venting its wrath over. The very first printed copy he destined to be laid before his lady, as the first of many laurels with which he hoped to crown her. She might disagree with his discourse at first upon some minor points—he knew and admired her independent spirit—but she was candid and generous, and could not fail to be pleased at finding in a Northern man so cordial an interest in the prosperity of the South, and at finding, in any countryman, so hearty a zeal for the promotion of the highest welfare of the whole country; and then, if his performance was as eloquent and brilliant as some of his other acquaintances told him, how very proud and happy she would be. And how very eloquent and brilliant it was, he for the first time perceived, as he read; for, as he spoke, the mighty spirit of oratory had leaped upon him, casting up the riches of his whole being from its depths, and carrying away his self-consciouness as with a whirlwind.

And this man, so full of promise, noble in beauty, loyalty, enterprise, courage, and heroism in the best sense of the word, who loved her as no other ever had, or would or could love, Constance was in the mean time preparing to do her best, or worst, to dishearten, agonize, and alienate, for what I call a girlish whim, were it not that I might thereby seem so disrespectful as to cast an intentional slur on some of the so-esteemed most sagacious men among her contemporaries. Her hot temper prevailing more and more, hour by hour, over the warm heart which might have pleaded for him, she condemned him in his absence and for his absence, which seemed to her to add contempt and contumacy to ingratitude and treason; and her hastily-formed purpose, to discard him at once and forever, grew and grew, like the mammoth snow-balls which she saw the little schoolboys making in the gray storm before the dismal windows of the Revere House, by much revolving.

At twilight, Herman's task released him. He tossed the last scrawled sheet to the printer's familiar, dressed with particular care, tied in his most faultless knot his prettiest cravat of Clara's selection, swallowed a cup of tea, and strode up and down from one end of the drawing-rooms to the other, until at last his sister appeared, in her blue evening cloak and *rigolette,* with the flowers in her hair peeping out between its strings of tiny pearl-like balls, as if through hoar frost; and the tardy coachman pulled the door-bell with a hard jerk, to *make believe* it was not the first time he had rung it, and whirled them off to Mrs. Mydass's.

There Herman had placed himself near the hostess, watching the door of entrance, and came forward to meet Constance, as she appeared in it, with such an expression of joy, affection, and hope, just dashed with modest doubt, as should have made her thank her God, and humble herself before Him in the presence of her great happiness; when she for the first time treated him as if he had been a poor and awkward student—*i. e.,* like a dog. Then, following that strange blind instinct of our nature, which makes us, when evil threatens, greedy of the worst—which makes the young wife look up into the face of the messenger who has come to tell her that she is a widow, and cry, "Don't tell me he is sick! say he is dead!" though she dies of the news—Herman, like Samson, had bowed himself, and pulled his fate down instantly upon his own grand head, unshorn though crushed. He had offered her his hand, and for the first time, in words, all the wealth of his manhood and his love. The offering was rejected, as, under the circumstances, only an added affront; and just there, and then, we found and left them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

* Let him or her who doubts that daring assertion, take a seat in any omnibus or car that runs four or five miles out from Boston, and in again; and let him or her listen to the common sense of the wearers of waistcoats therein, as they earnestly, but hesitatingly, stiltily, and with an air as of men somewhat painfully overtasking their memories, endeavor to discuss politics; and then let the listener, alighting from the car or omnibus, enter the nearest reading room, and for the argument of the Democrat, see yesterday's *Post* or *Courier;* for that of the Whig, the leader in the *Boston Daily Advertiser;* or perhaps, if said Whig be a very general reader, some old speech of Daniel Webster's; and then let the listener say whether that rash assertion is not founded on fact.

P. B. Garesche is very anxious to be elected public administrator of St. Louis; and since his nomination on the Buchanan ticket is quite likely to insure his defeat, he issues a card for the purpose of counteracting the effect of the untoward accident, and placing himself right before the public. He is very solicitous that the office shall not be made a party reward.

For the National Era.

DUDLEY A. TYNG.

"He was not perfect; he committed one deep, grave, awful error."—*Dr. Cummins's Sermon, as reported in the National Era of June 3d.*

"Not *perfect;*" one of Adam's race,
Sharing the shadow of the Fall,
But sanctified by Jesus' grace,
The one atonement made for all.
He claimed no perfectness but *this*—
Who dare deny that *it* was his?

"Not *perfect;*" though to us it seemed
Man could no truer, nobler be—
Though, as we gazed on him, we deemed
That only immortality,
Baffling decay's relentless power,
Could add *one charm to his rich dower.*

"Not *perfect;*" we, to whom his prayers
Were our own spirit's heavenward wings,
Lifting us up, from griefs and cares,
Above all sublunary things,
Know how he pleaded to be free
From all of man's infirmity.

"Not *perfect;*" no! we never claimed
It; fondly, proudly as we loved
Him, he himself had blamed
Our folly, and the thought reproved.
He lived as one who felt his share
Of ill, still "watching unto prayer."

"Not *perfect;*" yet, if those who seek
To show him but of mortal birth,
(Which none e'er *doubted,*) can but speak
Of that which proves his highest worth,
If "the one error" of his life
Was to be first in Freedom's strife,

Then he *was* perfect. Fearlessly
We fling our gauntlet to the world—
If he had *no fault* but to be
(Braving the missiles Slander hurled)
A standard-bearer in the van
Of those who fight for God and man.

We ask no better eulogy
For him, who *needs* no *mortal's* praise,
Than his own solemn words will be
Henceforth, throughout all coming days,
That calm, grave *protest* against wrong,
Never repented of, life-long.

Thank God! of all his brief, bright life,
No word or action claims regret;
Least of all, that, in holy strife,
He, on God's wall a watchman set,
Flung out the banner of the Free,
And battled well for Liberty.

"Not *perfect;*" yet, no meaner goal
Than perfectness could satisfy
His glorious mind, his lofty soul;
And so, God called him to the sky.
We to the stroke in anguish bow—
He—God be thanked—*is* "perfect" now.

Mt. Holly, June 5, 1858. R. A. K.

For the National Era.

LORD BACON AND THE OLD METHOD.

II.

The study of the law, then more repulsive than now, was little to the taste of the young philosopher. He hence eargerly sought for an appointment under the Crown, and made pressing application to his kinsman, Lord and Lady Burleigh, but was rebuffed by the Lord Treasurer, as well as by his royal mistress, from motives variously given. Mr. Montagu attributes the rejection to consideration for the real interests of the applicant, while Bacon himself regarded it as prompted by jealousy of his admitted genius. Thus failing at Court, he was driven to the law, and in 1580 entered himself a student at Guy's Inn. For some two years Bacon devoted himself to the study and practice of his profession. He might have lacked somewhat the precise technical knowledge of his great enemy, Lord Coke, yet he was in the better sense a great lawyer. His legal treatises upon the foundation of law would alone have given him a reputation. Coke pronounced him superficial, and the Queen was of opinion, that though he possessed great wit and learning, he was not deep in the law. But the opinion of neither on this subject is any disparagement. The common law at that day could hardly be deemed a rational science. The triangular struggles between the aristocracy, the church, and the courts, had been the cause or occasion of so many fictions to evade mortmains, entails, &c., as, combined with the fashionable scholasticism, had formed an ill-shapen and repulsive jurisprudence. We are bound to believe that the law was then, as now, "the perfection of reason;" yet its reasoning was so artificial, that disputed points were decided rather upon some quirk of logic, than upon common-sense principles. 'Tis true, the soul of Liberty breathed through the cumbrous body, yet it was like the soul of an enchanted Beauty in some monster whose ugliness hides the fair being from the eyes of the uninitiated. Mansfield had not worn the robe; the commercial law was a stranger to Westminster. Judges had not learned to adopt in the hearing of causes rules of universal justice, trying by them all doubtful precedents. They had not—have they yet?—established the law as a science, the science of right, progressive with the ever-changing relations of man, immutable only in its object. But this is not the work of a generation—hardly of an age. Much has been done since Bacon's day—the work is still progressing. The young lawyer must have looked upon branches of the law in which the gnarled mind of Coke delighted, as he did upon the wranglings of the schools; and doubtless, as some Barrister Dry-as-dust threw across his path some unnoted distinction from Bracton or Fleta, one which would ever escape a philosophical thinker, he would scandalize the owls and bats of the profession, by his irreverence for such mere excrescences.

Bacon seems not to have taken well to the practice. Its drudgery and details were doubtless irksome, and seemed paltry, compared to his higher aims; and he continued poor. Yet, in a sense, he met with great success. He took at once a prominent position at his Inn, and received many of its honorary distinctions. Ten years from the commencement of his law studies, being then thirty years of age, he was sworn "Queen's Counsel learned Extraordinary," an honor till then never conferred upon any member of the profession.

Of Bacon's manner at the bar we have no exact record. The following oft-quoted description of his eloquence, by the celebrated Ben Johnson, may refer to his professional efforts or his parliamentary speaking, or to both. "There happened," says he, "in my time, one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking; his language, when he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more properly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered: no member of his speech but consisted of its own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss: he commanded when he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power: the fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end." This is high praise, and the possessor of such powers can hardly be called superficial, though others were probably better versed in the technics and artificial subtilties of the profession.

Involved in debt, and unable to give his time to those studies in which he longed to engage, from about the year 1590 Bacon seems to have directed his energies to securing political preferment. The reviewers and popular biographers, determined to find a mean motive for every act, give no credit to his avowed object—to relieve himself from embarrassment, and gain opportunity for study. I admit that in this pursuit he was not always—who is?—manly. Like a true courtier, he abased himself before an almost absolute Throne. He humbly sought pardon of the Queen for an eloquent appeal in Parliament against a demand for taxation, abandoned the then untried path of popularity, and in politics showed himself the true child of the age and the circumstances which had always surrounded him. The English constitution was yet in its swaddling clothes, and Hampden had not lived. As if conscious that his position was not justified by philosophy, he calls it a necessary "stooping to occasions."

Yet, with all Bacon's humility, the Queen only smiled: her hand was empty. His position of Counsellor, &c., was honorable, but without profit. It was not the "prize and reward" he needed. The Court at this time was divided into two factions—one headed by the Cecils, and the other by the Earl of Essex. Repudiated by the former, Bacon allied himself to the latter, and the enthusiastic Earl, able to appreciate genius, became his most ardent patron and friend. He prosecuted his application for the Attorney Generalship and Solicitorship, and failing in this, presented Bacon the Twickenham estate, and ever manifested for him the most considerate regard. Like his father-in-law, Leicester, Essex was the Queen's favorite; but while she loved to honor him, she was jealous of her own authority, and his patronage was but a weak passport to her favor. So Bacon profited little with Elizabeth from his friendship, and the connection between them became memorable only from its unfortunate termination.

Essex was a generous, rash, and unprincipled man. Had he studied the character of his mistress, shown a decent gratitude for her extraordinary favors, and regulated his conduct, not by his own caprices and wild ambition, but but the rules of common prudence and the advice of his friend Bacon, his would have continued the highest position at Court. But having been deservedly placed "under a cloud" for failure, if not betrayal, of the most important trusts—trusts committed to him by Elizabeth against the advice of the Cabinet, trusts which Bacon vainly labored to dissuade him from accepting—he affected the air of injured innocence, now fretted with the impatience of a spoiled pet as he was, now humbled himself for a renewal of an odious monopoly, and, failing, railed against his mistress as "an old woman no less crooked in mind than in body," and now entered into a treasonable conspiracy to seize the Queen and strongholds of London, and rule either in her name or without her. Thus he brought ruin upon his own head, and well nigh upon the heads of his friends. During the whole period of Essex's estrangement, from his recklessness and disobedience in Ireland to the consummation of his treason, his friend Bacon holding an official position near the Queen, sought, by all the arts of an accomplished courtier to a most capricious sovereign, to save him and restore him to favor. He watched every opportunity to extenuate his follies, soothe the pride of Elizabeth, and revive her affection. He even went so far, having ascertained the peculiar state of Elizabeth's temper, as to dictate letters adapted to that state, to be sent her by Essex, and would have succeeded in his restoration, but for his own continued follies and crimes.

I am surprised to find Lord Campbell aspersing Bacon's motive for these endeavors. He says, "Bacon stuck by him as a defender—believing that he retained his place in the Queen's heart, and that he would yet have the disposal of the patronage of the Crown;" and again, "I most eagerly admit that now, and down to the hour when the unhappy youth expiated his offences on the scaffold, Bacon showed him as much countenance as was entirely consistent with his own safety, convenience, and hope of advancement." There is nothing to warrant these base insinuations. His endeavors were praiseworthy and persistent—and why asperse the motive? It would be unparliamentary where men may speak with impunity, it would be libellous elsewhere; and shall the great dead alone be unprotected? The truth is, Bacon was assiduous in his endeavors to save his friend, as well from his hot-brained self and insane advisers, as from his offended Sovereign; and it was not till the Earl's blind and criminal rashness rendered his destruction certain, that it became necessary to choose between his duty to the State, with high political prospects, and ruin, not to serve, but, himself innocent, to fall with a guilty benefactor.

I admit that the fact that Bacon appeared as the prosecutor of his fallen though guilty friend, has an ugly look; and especially that he subsequently loaned his pen to justify the Queen's severity. It would have been more chivalrous, more generous, had he rather resigned his place, rather gave up all hope of promotion. But it is not hence necessary to suppose him the "meanest of mankind." That he was a man rather of ideas than deep affections, or rather that his affections were centred upon his ideas, I think is clear. That he unduly valued external position, both as a source of happiness, and as a commanding position whence the world could be brought within the influence of his ideas, is also clear. He also deemed such position essential, deemed success in his political career essential to his success as a philosopher. This we can scarcely comprehend, and Macaulay and Campbell evidently give him little credit for the claim. And yet, with his habits and associations from childhood, I do not suppose Bacon could have prosecuted his studies with the surroundings of a poor scholar, more than most poor scholars could follow their pursuits in a palace. And, besides, the successful practice of the law is incompatible with the pursuits of literature and philosophy. Rest and relaxation to the lawyer is professional ruin; and when briefs are scarce, his devotion must be the more assiduous. Of all lovers, he most clearly realizes that the coy are not won by divided attention. I have known men of philosophic or literary tastes, who at the bar dared steal no time for its indulgence, yet in a judicial position, and with apparently double the labor on their hands, have succeeded in both their public duties and in their more coveted pursuits.

The loyalty of the times, and I may add of all times, seemed to justify his course. I repudiate the sentiment that we must support our country—meaning the measures of administration—right or wrong. It is now justly deemed slavish, and inconsistent with our higher obligations of justice, to God. But then it was patriotism, and its denial treason. The Throne or the Commonwealth knew no rivalry in the devotions of the faithful. A Socrates could willingly yield up his life to a faction able to call itself Athens. A Brutus, in obedience to the State, could condemn to death his own son. A Cranmer, in purifying the church whose first bishops were but fishermen, could find no head for that purified church so meet as a licentious and bloody King. Misguided patriotism or loyalty is the grave of personal independence and public liberty. Yet was it the deity of all, and he who could expose the mysterious shallows of a revered philosophy, bowed to the common idol. So loyal was his whole being, that when accepting those gifts of Essex which he is condemned for so requiting, he happily alluded to the feudal obligations, and said: "My Lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift; but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the King and his other Lords." To illustrate the capriciousness of human judgment as to a subject's duties, I can but notice the fact, that Macaulay, so severe upon Bacon, does not hesitate to condemn the continued affection and gratitude of William Penn towards his friend and benefactor, the exiled James, implying the obligation to withdraw all attachment to the enemy of the State, or of public liberty.

MATCH-MAKING.

Early in a beautiful morning in the lovely month of June, the pretty little village of Alderfield was all astir, two or three gigs and other vehicles were already drawn from their respective depositories, and preparing for service, and now and then a fair face peeped from an upper window, and was almost instantly withdrawn, irradiated with a smile of pleasure at the favorable appearance of the weather. Well might peaceful little Alderfield be awake and alive, for this was the appointed day for Mrs. Weatherhill's picnic party, which had formed the theme of the village gossip and conjecture for the last ten days at least. To be sure, only a select few of the villagers were invited, but those who were *out* were naturally anxious to know who were *in,* and those who were not going had risen thus laudably early to watch the movements of those who were.

Mrs. Weatherhill, the promoter of the present festivity, was generally considered by herself and others as the principal personage in Alderfield, inasmuch as she possessed an independent property, and decidedly took the lead in society on all occasions. Her house was the largest, her dress the most fashionable, and her barouche the only one in the village. She had no children, and was not in the least impeded in the exercise of her will by a little, fat, gouty husband, who seldom spoke at all, and when he attempted to do so, was talked down at once by his lady. His own fortune was small; she had inherited a large one at an early age; and why she had married Mr. Weatherhill, nobody could surmise, unless it was to show her entire independence of opinion, and her perfect freedom of will.

She was a stout but very comely dame of forty-five or thereabouts, with a pleasant voice and smile, a merry laugh, and a manner peculiarly attractive from its warmth and heartiness. She was a great patroness of "young people," especially young ladies, fond of "having them with her," and devising pleasures for them, sometimes not over judicious in their character. "What did the girls go from home for, but to enjoy themselves?" she would often remark, as if home were a place destitute of enjoyments, instead of forming the centre of the very best and purest pleasures. So, when she had young friends staying with her, which was very frequently the case, she took good care that they should never "lose a day;" for she would have considered twenty hours' respite from the pursuit of pleasure as so much lost time. What with parties at home and abroad, by land and by water, drives to the country town, and visits to every exhibition that might happen to be stationed there, she contrived to keep her guests in a very undesirable state of excitement from their arrival to their departure. At the time my story begins, she had two very pretty girls for her inmates, and it was principally on their account that she had planned a party to Ilston Abbey, a fine old ruin some seven or eight miles from Alderfield. A very wet season had marred several previous projects of the kind, therefore Mrs. Weatherhill and her invited guests looked forward with no little anxiety to the day, and watched the barometer with intense interest. Great was the joy of all concerned, when a cloudless morning gave promise of some hours of equally cloudless enjoyment, and all prepared with alacrity to set forth. Mrs. Weatherhill had private reasons, also, for wishing her plan to prosper. She considered this party of much greater importance than as a mere matter of amusement, and had anxieties and hopes on the subject, as yet only known to herself. She unfortunately delighted in that mischievous and unwarrantable interference in the affairs of others, called match-making, and she hoped on this occasion to lay the foundations of two marriages, at least. Two gentlemen, whom she asked to join her party, seemed to her precisely suited to her young guests, who were neither of them, as far as she knew, pre-engaged; and so far from suspecting that there was anything improper in her designs, she gave herself great credit for planning two such eligible unions. She was sure Arthur Bonnington must want a wife. He must be dreadfully lonely in his rumbling old house, with nothing but his books to amuse him, and, with his large fortune, it was a burning shame that he did not marry. Could any woman be found more sure to suit him than Lucy Austin, who was as quiet and almost as fond of books as himself, very pretty, well born and bred? And supposing she had no fortune, what could that signify to a man so wealthy as Mr. Bonnington? Mary Granby, her other protegé, was a very different girl from Lucy; but she would therefore be more likely to please the fancy of young Scarborough, the surgeon, newly settled in Y———, (the county town,) who, as Mrs. Weatherhill said to herself, must marry somebody at any rate, if he meant to get into respectable practice. Mary was a handsome, shrewd, showy girl, active and cheerful, and well able to take a prominent place in society—no small merit in the wife of a medical man aiming at popularity. Moreover, she had, or rather was to have, a thousand pounds, the legacy of her godmother, but at present in her father's hands; he having been executor to the old lady in question. Mrs. Weatherhill, who, no one knew how, had a very intimate knowledge of the private affairs of all her acquaintances, was aware that Mr. Scarborough had also some property independent of his profession; and the match seemed in every way so equal, that she thought it would be an actual sin not to try to bring it about. Anxiously, therefore, did the "foundress of the feast" anticipate her picnic to Ilston.

Nine o'clock, the appointed hour of assembling, had arrived, and Mrs. Weatherhill's barouche was at the door, and Mr. Weatherhill safely bestowed in one corner of it. Then the young ladies took their places, and Mrs. Weatherhill followed, having first seen divers well-stocked baskets and hampers, and sundry cloaks and umbrellas, packed into a light cart, which was to attend them to the abbey. Then came a family jaunting-car, with its family load—father, mother, and three or four grown-up daughters; then Dr. Derwent's gig, bearing the worthy rector and his lady; and, lastly, Mr. Sanderson, the attorney's, vehicle, occupied by its owner, a sturdy old bachelor, accompanied by his maiden sister. Thus the procession moved off, but did not by any means include the

whole party; for many were to join it on the road, and several stragglers from remote quarters were to meet the main body at the abbey.

Certainly, Mary Granby looked very stylish in the smart silk pelisse and gay hat which Mrs. Weatherhill had recommended her to wear on the occasion; and Lucy Austin never was prettier than in the simple white dress and straw bonnet which her own perception of the fitness of things had taught her to adopt. And Mrs. Weatherhill thought, as she looked on them, that never were two damsels more captivating, or more sure of conquest; the only fear that shadowed her pleasure being, lest, by any dire mischance, either of the beaux should fail to keep their appointment; lest Arthur Bonnington should have been seized with a fit of shyness or low spirits—no uncommon occurrence; or young Scarborough called away to attend to some broken limb, or case of sudden illness. But her apprehensions proved groundless; for when the party from Alderfield arrived at Ilston, the two young men were already there; and it seemed a good omen to Mrs. Weatherhill, that they had been punctual to their appointment.

Mrs. Weatherhill was now in her glory. Before the loiterers of the company arrived, she had managed to establish Arthur Bonnington as the temporary guardian of Lucy Austin, and to fasten Mary Granby on young Scarborough's arm; and the group had soon dispersed among the ruins, or were tracing the little winding paths of the neighboring woods, with that quickly-increasing friendliness which grows nowhere so rapidly as on a rural excursion, such as this whereof I write.

It would take too much space to detail all that was said or done on that momentous day. Suffice it, that it was unmarked by serious accident or unfavorable change of the weather, which circumstances will occasionally mar the delights of a party of pleasure; that Mrs. Weatherhill's schemes seemed to thrive beyond her utmost hopes; and that, before bidding them good night, she had engaged both Arthur Bonnington and young Scarborough to dine at her house early in the following week. The readiness with which her invitation was accepted, she took as an excellent omen of the impression already made on the minds of the gentlemen in question by the charms of her fair visitants.

From that evening to the day of her dinner-party, Mrs. Weatherhill, when alone with Lucy and Mary, talked of little except the two young men, who, she maintained, had paid them such marked attention; and whilst Lucy, with native delicacy, shrank from her rallying on the subject of Arthur Bonnington, Mary, whilst deprecating far more loudly the jest respecting Mr. Scarborough and herself, evidently enjoyed it. She laughed and listened, and she did not listen heedlessly. She was by no means so much attached to a country home—in whose neighborhood eligible bachelors were anything but plentiful, where she was under the guidance of rather homely parents, and expected to take an active part in the management of six younger brothers and sisters—as to object to leave it, if a tolerably good opportunity for doing so offered. Besides, having arrived at the age usually called that of discretion, she was exceedingly anxious to get possession of her "own thousand pounds," which, as we have said, were at present in her father's hands. Her marriage would be an event, she thought, after which he could have no possible pretext for retaining it; and, incited by these considerations, and Mrs. Weatherhill's representations of the advantages of the match, she boldly resolved that, if Harry Scarborough did propose for her, she would accept him. If he did not, she was not yet desperately in love with him, and there was no harm done.

Full of these thoughts, she dressed herself in the most becoming style she could devise, resolved that Mr. Scarborough should not find her less charming in a drawing-room than in the ruins of Ilston Abbey; and so effectually did she carry out her intentions on the occasion of their second meeting, that Scarborough, during his long, solitary ride from Alderfield to Y——, owned to himself that she had impressed him as no woman had ever done before. He had been for some time looking out for a wife; and hearing from Mrs. Weatherhill an account of the 'high respectability' of Miss Granby's connections, accompanied by a judicious hint of her forthcoming thousand pounds, a few more visits to the enchantress decided his course. He proposed, and was duly accepted; and Mrs. Weatherhill thanked Heaven, while she applauded her own foresight, for the favorable termination of one of her plans.

That her other project, respecting Arthur Bonnington and Lucy Austin, was likely to end as much to her mind, she was still doubtful; for though there were many symptoms which she deemed auspicious, there was little appearance of progress in the affair. To any close observer, indeed, it would have been evident that Lucy was anything but slightly interested in this event. Her heart, with its pure, young, untried affections, was already the prize—alas! the unsolicited prize—of the quiet and somewhat melancholy student. He evidently prefered her society to that of any other member of Mrs. Weatherhill's circle, and listened to her music, and pointed out the beauties of his favorite authors, and talked to her by the hour together in a low, earnest voice, as he did to none beside. But it was not of love—not of marriage. He was pleased to find one so gentle and intellectual, who would listen unweariedly to the revealings of his romantic imaginations and somewhat morbid sensibilities; and this, which was in fact but refined egotism, poor Lucy received with love and gratitude, as proofs of his affectionate confidence. It might have been so; she might soon have grown necessary to his happiness in this very character of patient and sympathizing *confidante*, and, with her unselfish and devoted nature, they might have been married and happy.

But Mrs. Weatherhill unfortunately took it into her head that she could expedite matters by enlightening Mr. Bonnington's mind as to her own view of the case. She was convinced his modest diffidence alone stood in his way; at any rate, it was her duty not to permit Miss Austin's affections to be trifled with. Accordingly, having contrived a *tete-a-tete* with the tardy lover, she introduced the subject by naming the approaching marriage of Miss Granby to Mr. Scarborough. From that it was easy to allude to the party to Ilston, and thence to glide to the topic of his own supposed attachment to Lucy. Mr. Bonnington heard her, first with surprise, then with evident vexation.

"You really distress me, Mrs. Weatherhill; you are laboring under some strange delusion. I consider Miss Lucy Austin as a most excellent and estimable young lady, but I have never for a moment thought of her in the light you allude to."

"Then why, in the name of wonder, Mr. Bonnington, have you acted in such a manner towards her? Why have you paid her such marked attention ever since your first introduction to her? I am sure Henry Scarborough has scarcely shown a greater preference for Mary than you for Miss Austin, and now you tell me that it all meant nothing."

"I told you no such thing, Mrs. Weatherhill. I said, and still say, that I respect and esteem Miss Austin; I consider her in the light of one of my most valued friends; but I have never given her cause to suppose that I wished to engage her regard in any more serious character. You forget, also, that a great portion of what you call attentions I could not avoid paying to the lady, dictated as they were by yourself."

"By me, Mr. Bonnington?"

"Certainly. Did we walk, you bade me escort her; did we dance, you solicited me as her partner; and so on through all our intercourse. I will not say that I did not prefer these arrangements, but prudence would probably have made me less exclusive in them, but for your own directions."

"Then my poor Lucy is to be deceived and deserted!" exclaimed Mrs. Weatherhill; "that gentlest, most affectionate creature, to be wounded so deeply and fatally. Oh, Mr. Bonnington! you have deceived us all!"

"You use strong language, madam. I cannot accuse myself of having ever willfully deceived any one, and there can be no desertion in a case like the present. In one point, I both hope and believe you are mistaken. I am sure Miss Austin has too much good sense to bestow her affections unsought; least of all, where there could be so little inducement to do so. I am sorry, very sorry, this misunderstanding has occurred, as it must, for some time at least, deprive me of the pleasure of Miss Austin's society."

So saying, he arose, and, bidding Mrs. Weatherhill good morning, abruptly quitted the house.

Yet, as he rode back to his lonely mansion, Arthur Bonnington, in recalling the events of the last few weeks, felt less easy in his mind than he had anticipated. Now that his attentions to Lucy Austin had been remarked upon by a third party, they struck his own conscience in a way they had never done before, and he felt that he was not wholly free from blame, should she have misinterpreted them. Yet Mrs. Weatherhill's conduct had been most preposterous. Had that lady had the discretion to remain quiet, had she not prematurely spoken to him on the subject of Lucy Austin, it is not unlikely that the gentle charms of the fair girl might have wakened in a heart that deemed itself forever blighted a purer passion than it had ever known. But Mrs. Weatherhill could not be passive; even when things looked most favorably, she must interfere; and her eagerness in this instance had defeated its own purpose. Arthur Bonnington, as he rode home that day, came to a conviction that he had narrowly escaped the machinations of an inveterate match-maker, whose designs it was an absolute duty to circumvent.

Meanwhile, how fared it with Lucy? She knew not, till some angry expressions from Mrs. Weatherhill indicated the fact, that some violent and unsatisfactory explanation had occurred between that lady and Arthur Bonnington; and, alas! with that knowledge came the bitter feeling that she had been compromised and degraded in his opinion by the imprudent conduct of one who ought to have shielded her delicacy with the care of a mother. She said nothing; but her varying color and trembling limbs told a tale of mental suffering most intelligible to good Miss Sanderson, who happened to be present when the disclosure took place. With that tact which is an inestimable quality, when united to kindness of heart, she found a speedy pretext for withdrawing Lucy from the room, and conducting her to the quiet precincts of her own chamber. There a flood of tears relieved the poor girl, and told more eloquently than words the wound that her womanly feelings had received.

Alas! it was too true that Lucy had ventured to love, before her affections had been explicitly sought by him to whom she had yielded them. She loved, too, with a depth and tenderness which Mrs. Weatherhill was quite unable to appreciate. All *her* regret consisted in the failure of her project for a "good match;" and she would have expected Lucy to be consoled at once, could another as apparently suitable have been found. To say that the station and wealth of Mr. Bonnington had not contributed to increase the brightness of the visions that had floated through Lucy's mind, would be saying too much; but still she was as far from being a mere speculating husband-seeker as any one could possibly be. But she had a kind and generous nature, whose impulses her contracted means had never yet permitted her to gratify. Her father was an officer and a gentleman; but beyond his half pay, he had very little of this world's wealth, and Lucy had certainly admitted the idea of his happiness in *her* prosperity. Still, independent of all these considerations, she had loved dearly and truly; and now her vision—her bright and happy vision—was dashed to pieces in a moment. There was nothing to hope, except that Arthur Bonnington would utterly forget her, since, as her awakened fears suggested, he could only remember her with contempt and disgust. Could she have followed her own inclinations, she would at once have returned home; but Mrs. Weatherhill opposed her doing so on two accounts; first, that it would seem as if she were leaving abruptly on Arthur Bonnington's account; and, secondly, that Mary Granby, who was to be married next month, could by no means dispense with her services as bridesmaid. Mrs. Weatherhill had insisted that Miss Granby's nuptials should be solemnized at Alderfield; and the family of the bride, feeling all the convenience of the arrangement, had not offered any very vehement opposition to it.

Lucy was spared the pain of seeing Mr. Bonnington again during her stay, by his departure for the continent; and could she have found consolation in the propagation of an untruth, she might have received it from the general report of the neighborhood, that he had left the country in consequence of her refusal of him. A few days after his interview with Mrs. Weatherhill, he set out for London, and from thence proceeded to explore the beauties and romantic features of the woods and mountains of Germany, a country he had expressed a desire to visit. Amidst new scenes and people, it was natural that the events of the past should rapidly become less prominent in his mind; still there were times when the idea would intrude, that if Lucy Austin were not a designing actor in Mrs. Weatherhill's schemes, she had not been quite fairly treated; and remembrances of her mild blue eyes, her varying cheek, and gentle voice, intruded amidst his day dreams more frequently than was quite consistent with his peace. Meantime, Lucy, under Mrs. Weatherhill's auspices, was dragged from scene to scene of gaiety, in which her sick heart could take no part, and was at once longing for and dreading her return to her humble home. The bitter idea that she had been lowered in the estimation of him whose regard she valued above that of every other person, was a sting in Lucy's bosom for whose poison there seemed to be no cure. The time arrived for the marriage of Mary Granby and Mr. Scarborough, and Mrs. Weatherhill's exultation knew no bounds. Here was a match that would in all probability have never taken place but for her management; and so said the bride's father, as he privately thanked her for the interest she had taken in his "dear girl's" welfare.

Lucy Austin did not fall a victim to brain-fever, or perish within a few months by the more insidious inroads of consumption; but if a broken or a blighted heart be one in which hope and happy love are crushed forever, and whose capacity for the keen enjoyment of life, which youth should experience, is irretrievably lost, such was hers from the time of her unfortunate visit to Alderfield. Her constitution was never robust; and now, without being subject to any specific disorder, she gradually fell into delicate health, and in a year or two was considered among her friends as a confirmed invalid. Her father died; and as the slender provision he had been able to make for her was insufficient to support her in the house they had hitherto occupied, she disposed of her furniture, and went to board with a widowed female relative who resided at a small watering-place on the east coast of England. She never revisited Alderfield, and her intercourse with that neighborhood consisted almost entirely in an occasional correspondence with an old acquaintance, Miss Sanderson, for whom she retained the most affectionate regard.

Five or six years had now gone by, and how had Mrs. Weatherhill's match-making prospered with Mr. and Mrs. Scarborough? Even worse than poor Lucy's wooing; for it was a mere union of apparent suitabilities, without any genuine foundation for mutual happiness. Mrs. Weatherhill had represented Mary Granby to her betrothed as a perfect treasure of ingenuity and industry; and certainly in her father's house, compelled by circumstances, she had displayed something of these qualities. But now, as a wife, she thought she had a right to be exempt from what she termed "mere drudgery," and having an overweening love of display, a considerable stock of pride, and a fondness for amusement, she was disposed to exercise her activity more in spending money than in saving it. She discovered also, within a very short time after her marriage, that Scarborough possessed a most violent temper; and to avoid its explosions, and at the same time to obtain what she wished to have, she descended to many mean and despicable subterfuges, which, when detected, were sure to draw down upon her a double portion of her husband's wrath. Besides, he had a constant source of complaint in the non-payment of the thousand pounds which her father still retained, and which no application could draw from him; and this subject was one which Scarborough never failed to mention when he had any dispute with his wife. In short, constant bickerings soon made their home a wretched one, and the husband gladly left it to seek society and amusement elsewhere. Mary, meanwhile, was not sorry for his frequent absence, as she thereby was enabled to pursue her own course of extravagance and folly with more freedom; and the end of all this may be easily conceived. Scarborough got into difficulties, lost his business, fell into intemperate habits, and at the end of eight years after the gay bridal *fete* at Alderfield, Mary found herself a widow, with two helpless children, dependent on the bounty of her husband's relatives, whereby alone she was kept from utter destitution.

Arthur Bonnington's sojourn on the continent was protracted from month to month, till it had even extended to years; and when he did at last return to his solitary mansion, his visits to Mrs. Weatherhill were few, and the name of Lucy Austin never passed his lips. But it happened one day that business led him to call on Mr. Sanderson, the attorney; and as that gentleman was from home, his client requested to see Miss Sanderson, as he wished to leave a message with her. He found the old lady sitting in her little parlor, and, as he was announced, she laid down her spectacles and an open letter she had been perusing, and rose to receive him. But in vain she begged him to be seated; he heard as though he heard not, and stood for some moments with his eyes riveted on the letter, which seemed to absorb all his attention; for, though it was years since he had seen it, he recognised the graceful though somewhat peculiar hand in which Lucy Austin, years ago, had transcribed for him some pieces of poetry.

Great was Miss Sanderson's surprise when, with flushed cheek and trembling voice, her visiter stammered out the question, "If that were not the handwriting of Miss Lucy Austin?"

"It is," was the reply; "it is a letter which I received from her this morning."

Bonnington immediately inquired her present residence, adding to his question a hope that she was well.

"She is living at L——," was the answer. "I am sorry to say her health is very indifferent. She has been delicate ever since she was at Alderfield, some years ago; and latterly, I fear, her illness is assuming a more alarming character."

"Miss Sanderson," said Bonnington, after an embarrassed pause, "you are a friend of Lucy—you have ever been so; for I well remember the respect and regard with which she used to speak of you, even in the early days of our acquaintance. I am anxious to ask you one strange question; and, believe me, I do so with a true and single purpose—not from curiosity, or for any other trifling reason. Do you think that Lucy Austin had ever any regard—in one word, do you think she ever *loved* me?"

"You do, indeed, ask a strange question, Mr. Bonnington," said Miss Sanderson, "and I scarcely feel justified in replying to it; but, trusting to your honour to keep my communication sacred, I will venture to tell you that, most unfortunately for herself, Lucy Austin did love you—I could find in my heart to say, far better than you deserved."

"Better, indeed," said Bonnington, sadly; "I must have seemed false and heartless in her eyes, and in yours also; but believe me, if I did trifle with her happiness, I did so most unwittingly. My heart had scarcely recovered the wounds inflicted by another's faithlessness, and knew not that her gentle influence, sweet and soothing though I felt it to be, could ever awaken a new affection within me. But now I know that this might have been, and that a purer and happier love than I had known before might have arisen for me, had not Mrs. Weatherhill's premature interference startled me from my dream. By her coarse intermeddling she aroused the suspicion that I was merely looked upon as a 'good speculation,' and the idea that Lucy knew and acquiesced in her design was most repulsive to my feelings. I determined to break through the net at once; I left England in the first heat of my annoyance; but I have never since met man or woman, whose affection could be to me what I now know Lucy Austin's might have been!"

Before Arthur Bonnington left Miss Sanderson, he had determined to visit L—— without delay, and, if he found Lucy's sentiments respecting himself still unchanged, to offer her the only compensation he could for the years of suffering she had undergone, by proposing to make her his wife. In a few days his journey was accomplished, and he stood before the door of the humble dwelling that Lucy inhabited, striving to still the beating of his heart before he ventured to raise the knocker. The door was at length opened, and he was shown into an apartment, evidently prepared with some care for the reception of an invalid; whom, his fears too plainly told him. The little old-fashioned sofa was placed near the fire, and piled with pillows; a small table was drawn up beside it, and on this was laid an open Bible, a plate with a few grapes, and a small vase of flowers. In a few seconds the door opened, and the mistress of the house entered. She was a pale, thin, lady like personage; and though evidently embarrassed by the presence of a stranger, received Arthur with the greatest politeness. When informed that he was an old friend of Miss Austin, she shook her head, and said she feared Lucy was too weak to see any one whose presence might agitate her; but she also offered, if the gentleman would leave his name, to endeavor to prepare her cousin to meet him on the following day.

And on the morrow they met; he but little changed in outward appearance since their first interview amidst the woods and ruins of Ilston; she so wan, so wasted, so utterly altered, that but for her voice, and the expression of her blue soft eye, he would scarcely have recognised her. It was a solemn meeting; but Lucy was calm, for she knew that her destiny was fixed, and she dreaded not to speak of the past, which could exercise no further influence on the future. It was in vain that Arthur talked of hope, of renewed health, of years of love and happiness that they yet might pass together. She knew it could never be; yet she allowed him to call in further medical advice, and to remove her to a more genial climate, feeling that, by her compliance, she secured to him the after satisfaction of knowing that all had been done for her which could be done. But she told him these cares come too late; and she told him the truth. Six weeks after his visit to L——, Arthur Bonnington saw the earth laid over her who, but for the officious meddling of a match-maker, might have been living his happy and honored wife, blest herself, and diffusing blessings around her.

Mrs. Weatherhill wept bitterly when Bonnington detailed to her the circumstances of Lucy's death, and she had no defence to offer, when her own indirect share in the catastrophe was referred to, except that she had "acted for the best." But Bonnington's upbraidings were not without a salutary effect. From that time forward, Mrs. Weatherhill, as much from terror of public opinion as remorse, avoided interfering in any way with the marrying or giving in marriage of her numerous friends and acquaintances.

Our foreign imports continue to show a gradual and now very marked decrease, compared with previous seasons, as will be seen by the following comparisons:

Week ending June 25, 1858 - - -	$2,039,350
Corresponding week in 1857 - - -	3,151,112
Corresponding week in 1856 - - -	4,240,321

If we make a comparison of the total imports, from the 1st of January to date, the difference is even more striking—thus:

1856.	1857.	1858.
$105,935,694.	$115,186,530.	$58,997,020.

Among the items in last week's list, we notice $24,326 for brandy, $23,649 for buttons, $17,791 for cigars, $101,275 for coffee, $14,837 for fancy goods, $15,850 for jewelry of various kinds, and $37,984 for watches.

A letter from Beyrout, dated May 1, states that the Christians of Homs, on the banks of the Orantis, hung up a bell in their church. The Mohammedans, hearing the sound of the bell, called out "Allah Akbar," armed themselves, and went to break the bell and burn the edifice. The Bishop applied to the Governor for protection, but the great man said he could afford none. The Christians armed themselves, and went to defend their bell and church. The Moslems rushed on, and were received with a volley of balls, which killed ten and wounded many more of them. The Christians had only a few wounded, because they were under cover. The Bishop, fearing the attack of the Moslems, had sent messengers to the Christian villages on the mountains for assistance. It was not long before several thousands of riflemen came rushing into Homs. The Cadi, Mofti, and notables, seeing the turn the affair had taken, went in a body to the Bishop, and made peace, promising to become guarantees for the future conduct of their flock. A dinner was given by the Bishop to the chiefs of the riflemen, whilst every Christian family gave a dinner to as many riflemen as they could accommodate, and so the affair ended.

William J. Bayliss, of Wilmington, Del., has been convicted at Petersburg, Va., of carrying away slaves on board his schooner, and the vessel has been confiscated, and he sentenced on five different indictments to forty years imprisonment. He is now sixty years old. Such is the penalty for assisting man in the pursuit of liberty. The colored men have different ideas of the morality of such matters, and at Warren, Ohio, they have lately given one of their number fifty lashes on the bare back, for acting as stool pigeon to the slave-hunters, and disclosing the direction which a fugitive had taken.

☞ Mr. Wheeler is the accredited agent for the *Era*, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. L. T. Park, of Mount Union, Ohio, will receive and forward subscriptions for the *Era*, at club rates.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1858.

FREE LABOR IN TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

[To be published in the National Era.]

There is no subject on which more misconception prevails than on the Results of Emancipation and the Workings of Free Labor in the British West Indies.

Charles Tappan, of Boston, who sojourned last December and January in Barbados, spent much of his time while there in collecting authentic information in relation to it, submitting a series of nineteen questions to various persons qualified to give satisfactory evidence, to which replies were returned, which effectually refute the predictions and expose the misrepresentations of the Pro-Slavery Press. Of these, he has furnished us with a large portion, the publication of which we shall commence about the first of August.

Among the documents printed, will be a very able letter from Mr. Hincks, Governor of the Five Windward Islands, another from the Bishop of Barbados, several from Missionaries, Magistrates, and Overseers.

We announce the publication in advance, to give a fair opportunity to all who may wish to secure authentic documentary evidence of the workings of the Free Labor System in the West Indies.

ONE THING AT A TIME—THE QUESTION OF TO-DAY.

The *North American* is not satisfied with our comments upon the Philadelphia Meeting. It was not called, it says, "to oppose the Administration, as a distinct purpose, nor to organize a Party;" and, in behalf of the participants in the meeting, it disclaims any purpose of abandoning "their course on Lecompton and its allied questions."

We are pleased to hear this, but our cotemporary must admit that there was much ground for an opposite opinion. The resolutions and the speeches all referred to the Tariff as the *paramount* Political Question; the proceedings were directed towards getting up similar demonstrations in other States; the Pennsylvania *Enquirer* characterized the meeting as inaugurating the People's Party, and invited the co-operation of such men as Millard Fillmore and William H. Seward, John M. Botts and N. P. Banks; the *National Intelligencer* and Baltimore *American* hailed the movement as an indication that Parties were about to resume their original positions, excluding all sectional issues, that is, all questions relating to Slavery; other prints intimated that this was the only way in which an alliance could be effected with the liberal, Union-loving men of the South; and, just a few days before, a party had been formed in Delaware, embracing the Tariff, Squatter Sovereignty, and Native Americanism, but avoiding the slightest reference to the issues that have of late years agitated the Public Mind.

We entered our protest against all such views. They might suit certain gentlemen of the South, whose circumstances disable them from acting directly against the Slave Power, and who yet desire to continue in political life; but where is their political strength? What are their qualifications for political leadership? Where are the masses of the voters on whom we must rely for the overthrow of a Pro-Slavery Administration? *In the Free States.* But do those gentlemen represent *their* ideas and feelings? Could they command *their* support? Messrs. Crittenden and Bell are estimable gentlemen—honorable, always devoted to the Union, free from unworthy prejudices, disposed to deal justly: but they are not Anti-Slavery men; they do not take the same view of the action of Slavery as a political element that the Republicans do; they do not propose the same policy; it would be unjust and injurious to them to represent them as Republicans. Under present circumstances, they cannot come over to that Party—that Party cannot go over to them. No compromise, no concession, no evasion, no substitution of new issues, no ingenious attempts at coalition, can bring to pass either event.

We want no Tariff Party, no unmeaning People's Party, no new Party at all. Pro-Slavery rule is to be overthrown; the ideas and principles of the opponents of Slavery are to be stamped upon the Government. This is the work of to-day. For this purpose the Republican Party sprang into being; for this purpose it is pre-eminently adapted. No other organization is fitted for the work. Why then embarrass it with other issues? One thing at a time. The National Bank Question had its day—so had the Tariff—so had Land Distribution and Internal Improvements. They have been passed upon, settled, set aside, or postponed. The Question now is, Shall Slavery or Freedom control Congress, the Chief Executive, the Supreme Court? Clearly the masses of the People have determined that this Question shall first be settled. Messrs. Foote and Simmons may think Home Industry far more important—the *National Intelligencer* may deprecate "sectional issues"—the *North American* may suppose the whole country distressed by the neglect of its commercial and manufacturing interests—still, the fact remains, the One Question of Freedom or Slavery, as the controlling element of National rule, must first be settled.

We cannot be mistaken as to the popular indications. What are the issues in Iowa, Illinois, Maine, New Hampshire Vermont? Look at their resolutions, nominations, and elections. Nothing about Tariffs, or Home Valuation, or the "old-fashioned Henry Clay platform;" everything about the usurpations of Slavery and purposes of Freedom! The People will not think of anything else. All the other free States will stand on the same Platform—the Tariff will not be substituted for Liberty, or engrafted upon the creed and policy promulgated in Philadelphia in 1856. It must take its place with other subordinate questions. Doubtless it will be an element of the elections in Pennsylvania, but in a majority of the States, men will be chosen to Congress with little or no reference to it. It will not form a party question—better that it should not.

If we concurred in the Tariff opinions of the *North American*, we should discountenance all attempts to commit the Republican Party, as such, to any creed upon the subject. So contradictory are the views entertained by its various sections, that the attempt to exact uniformity, if persisted in, would be sure to produce dissension, alienation, probably division, and result finally in continuing power in the hands that now abuse it.

We do not, as the *North American* supposes, propose to disregard "the current expenses of the Government, its accumulating debts, its resources"—to "ignore our budget." This is a subject that must always be attended to by members of Congress of all Parties, whatever the controlling issue may have been in their election; but we are quite willing to leave members to deal with the question according to their own judgments, in view of the light that may be elicited by discussion and in view of the suggestions of their constituents; without being bound by any Party dogmas.

For one, we think Congress acted wisely in not disturbing the present financial policy. Under the Tariff of 1846, the revenue had come at last so to exceed the expenditures, that the large surplus in the Treasury served as a source of corruption and temptation to extravagance, and it was difficult to know how to dispose of it. All parties finally agreed upon a revision, by which many taxed articles were placed on the free list, and imposts were generally reduced, with a view to bringing down the revenue to the actual wants of the Government. Scarcely had the new system gone into operation, when the monetary revulsion, originating in causes not at all connected with the change in the Tariff, filled the country with panic, suspended all confidence, paralyzed business, and brought on "hard times." The result was, diminished consumption, rigorous retrenchment, of course greatly reduced importation, and a falling off of the revenues of the Government. The surplus in the Treasury was soon dissipated, by rash methods in part, as we thought; and the expenditures increasing, it became necessary to provide for them, first, by Treasury notes, (an ill-advised measure,) then, by loan. Everybody knew that no change of the Tariff could meet the emergency. Whether the imposts were high or low, was quite unimportant, so long as the imports were so insignificant. Everybody knew, too, that it was unwise to change a system, just adopted, before a single fact could illustrate its practical working. It was but fair to wait for facts—for the results of the new Tariff, after it had been sufficiently tested under normal, not exceptional, conditions. If the new system should not yield, in ordinary times, revenue enough to pay debts and meet current expenses, it ought to be changed; and if the Protectionists had full faith in their own speculations and predictions, they ought to have been content to abide their time, in the assurance that facts would eventually confirm their theory.

We believe in Free Trade and Direct Taxation, but we not suppose that these will determine the financial policy of the Government in our day. Should the present Tariff fail to produce sufficient revenue, it will undoubtedly be raised by the joint action of all parties; but this will require the organization of no new Party, or make it necessary for any particular Party to adopt a peculiar creed upon the subject.

Our cotemporary may think this "a narrow view of the case," but it seems to us the proper view.

Meantime, we insist, that the Question of to-day concerns primarily the redemption of the Government from vassalage to Pro-Slavery Rule.

MR. LETCHER ON SLAVERY—TROUBLE IN THE "OLD DOMINION."

Some of our readers may recollect that many years ago we copied into the *Era* extracts from an address against Slavery, delivered by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner, of Lexington, Va., and which produced at the time considerable sensation in that State. We were not aware till lately that John Letcher, M. C. from Virginia, now one of the most thoroughgoing Pro-Slavery men in the House of Representatives, was one of several signers to a letter endorsing that address in the strongest terms, and calling upon Dr. Ruffner to publish it. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Tablet* gives prominence to the fact, in this wise:

"Some time in August, 1847, the Rev. Henry Ruffner delivered an oration at Lexington, Va., before the Franklin Society of that place, for the abolition of Slavery in that State. Upon the occasion, Mr. Letcher, with others mentioned below, addressed him the following letter:

"'Lexington, Va., *Sept.* 1, 1847.

"'Dear Sir: The undersigned, believing that the argument recently delivered by you in the Franklin Society, in favor of the removal of the negro population from Western Virginia, was not only able, but *unanswerable*, and that its publication will tend to bring the public mind to a correct condition on that momentous question, request that you will furnish us with a full statement of that argument for the press.

"'* * * Our desire is to have the whole argument in favor of the proposition presented to the public in a perspicuous and condensed form. And, believing that your views were not only *forcible*, but *conclusive*, and that they are presented in a *shape* (!) which cannot give just cause of offence to even those who are the most fastidious and exciting on *all subjects* having any connection with the subject of Slavers, we trust that you will be disposed cheerfully to comply with our request above expressed. Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

S. McD. Moore, John Letcher,
David P. Curry, James G. Hamilton,
George A. Baker, J. H. Lacy,
John Echalls, James R. Jordan,
Jacob Fuller, jr., D. E. Moore.

"'*The Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D.*

"I will now quote the arguments of this learned divine on the nature of Slavery, which the Hon. Mr. Letcher says are 'unanswerable,' taken from the published response of that Mr. Ruffner. I will be as brief as it is possible:

"'But all the West, on due consideration, conclude that Slavery is a *pernicious* institution, and must be gradually removed.'—Page 6.

"'Whilst we of West Virginia steer our course in the safe middle way, and seek to remove the *plague of Slavery* from our limits, without incurring the charge of ultra abolitionism on the one hand, or of ultra *Pro-Slavery-ism*, or whatever it means, (Query, in Kansas?) on the other.'—Page 9.

"'All that we ask of our Eastern brethren, in regard to this matter, is, that if Western Virginia shall call for a law to remove Slavery from her side of the Blue Ridge, East Virginia *shall not refuse her consent*, because the measure may not be palatable to herself.'—Page 10.

"And, then, on the subject of Virginia's decline in general prosperity as a State, he proceeds:

"'What has done this work of desolation? Not war, nor pestilence—not oppression of rulers, civil or ecclesiastical—*but Slavery*. * * * It is in the last period of ten years, from 1830 to 1840, that this *consuming plague of Slavery* has shown its worst effects in the old Southern States.'—Page 14.

"'The true cause of the unexampled emigration is, that no branch of industry flourishes or can flourish among us, so long as Slavery is established by law.'—Page 17.

"'What a pity that so rich and so lovely a land should be afflicted with this *yellow* fever and this *black* vomit.'—Page 32.

"'Northern farmers and * * * look upon all Virginia as an *infected country*—AND SO IT IS.'—Page 33.

"'In those parts west of the Alleghany, upon the Ohio and its navigable waters, where her want of roads and disputed land titles did least injury, in these, too, the *corrosive touch* of Slavery has also shown its cankerous effects.'—Page 30.

"I have thus, sir, given proof enough in the foregoing extract which Mr. Letcher has so warmly endorsed, that '*consistency* in politics, as well as in the private affairs of life, is a very rare jewel now-a-days. Mr. Letcher is one of the Southern phalanx of Lecomptonites, who have undertaken to read Judge Douglas out of the Democratic party for sustaining the principles of State Rights and Popular Sovereignty."

This publication has given rise to a good deal of trouble in the Old Dominion. Mr. Letcher is a candidate for the nomination of Governor, and is specially favored by the extreme men, represented by such papers as the "*South*" and the *South Side Democrat*. At first, they were disposed to deny that he ever signed such a letter—then, there must have been some mistake about it! He must have acted through mere courtesy, and without considering the sentiments uttered; or, the address as published was different from the address as delivered, &c., &c. All sorts of excuses were made, but they would not give up John Letcher, for they knew he was true to the South. The Richmond *Enquirer*, the organ of the conservative party, is not satisfied with these irresponsible denials, disclaimers, apologies. If John Letcher signed his name to such a letter, it was a grave offence, not to be forgotten or overlooked—and that he did sign it, there can be no doubt. The *Enquirer* says "that, at the time of the alleged endorsement of Ruffner's Abolitionism, Mr. Letcher was simply 'attorney at law, practicing in the County and Circuit Superior Courts of Law and Chancery for Rockbridge and the adjoining counties.' He had not become 'Honest John Letcher,' of national reputation. He was, nevertheless, a man of matured judgment, able and competent to discern the power and force of what he might hear, and would most certainly have contradicted any publication that *falsely* charged him with endorsing sentiments he did not approve. *Therefore, if Mr. Letcher did sign that letter, and if, within the last eleven years, he has failed publicly to repudiate the sentiments it contains, we cannot see what excuse either he or his friends can offer.* His record may be appealed to for the proof of *present* soundness; the opposition do not charge him with Abolitionism now; they charge upon Mr. Letcher an offence which they allege is greater than the Democracy condemned in Summers; and a just regard to party consistency requires that this charge should be met and disproved, or we should abandon all idea of nominating Mr. Letcher."

We understand that Mr. Letcher has come out in a card, admitting that he did sign the Letter, but asserting that his views, during the last ten years, owing to the thorough discussion of the Question of Slavery, have undergone a radical change. We presume this will not satisfy the *Enquirer*.

Men who become converts from Slavery, are readily accepted and trusted; for to be opposed to Slavery is a natural condition, in accordance with human instincts. But converts from Anti-Slavery to Slavery are always deemed suspicious characters; because to be in favor of Slavery is so unnatural a position, that we are apt to attribute it to policy or necessity, not sentiment or principle. At least, such seems to be the rule acted upon by Pro-Slavery Journals.

THE RIGHT OF VISITATION—THE CONTROVERSY CLOSED.

The Washington correspondent of the associated press, June 24th, telegraphed as follows:

"Mr. Dallas, in the course of his dispatch, dated the 8th of June, alluded to a conversation he had with Lord Malmesbury, to whom, following the spirit of his instructions, he refused to make any concessions whatever in relation to 'visit or search,' and he was about to end his letter with the report of an unfavorable issue of the interview, when he was agreeably surprised with a sudden change in affairs, and Lord Malmesbury himself, at the request of Mr. Dallas, wrote the minutes of another conversation, in which he fully accepted the doctrine in the letter of Secretary Cass, of the 10th of April, as sound international law, and in no way conflicting with the treaty of 1842."

The correctness of this statement is confirmed by the Washington *Union*.

The *Union*, of June 27th, also says:

"It is not our purpose to run through the negotiations which have taken place between General Cass and Lord Napier in this city since the 10th of April. *It is enough to say, as we understand the present aspect of the question, that Lord Malmesbury now declares that Her Majesty's Government recognise the principle of international law as laid down by General Cass in his note of the 10th of April, and that nothing in the treaty of* 1842 (*the Ashburton treaty*) *supersedes that law.*"

Again:

"*It is, then, with no ordinary gratification that we announce the final settlement of this long-standing and troublesome dispute, by the prompt and manly disavowal of any such right by Lord Malmesbury, and his distinct recognition of the principle of international law, so explictly laid down by General Cass to Lord Napier.*"

The Principle refered to was stated by General Cass in his despatch of 10th April, as follows:

"The President of the United States, in his annual message to Congress, in December, 1841, *denounced this pretension to detain and examine American vessels as an interpolation into the maritime code of the world, to which the United States would not submit.* The years which have passed since this authoritative declaration, marked as they have been by repeated remonstrances against these aggressions, while they have added nothing to the strength of the claim, have served but to confirm the Government in their determination to oppose it. *No change of name can change the illegal character of the assumption. Search or visit, it is equally an assault upon the independence of nations.*"

In a subsequent article, the *Union* says:

"Lord Napier is distinctly advised that the Government of England recognise as sound those principles of international law which have been laid down by General Cass, in his note of the 10th of April, to the British Minister in this city—principles which he supports by the authority of Lord Stowell and the Duke of Wellington; and that the British Government also admit that there is nothing in the treaty of 1842 [the Ashburton treaty] with the United States, which supersedes that law.

"The dispatch to Lord Napier from Lord Malmesbury is substantially the same as the record of a conversation between the former person and Mr. Dallas, which we have heretofore made public. *The present, however, comes to General Cass in an authentic and official shape from Lord Napier himself, and may therefore be treated as the end of the search controversy.*"

By the *Arabia*, we have reports of a discussion in Parliament on the subject.

"Earl Malmesbury deeply regretted that the efforts of England to suppress the slave trade had not been seconded by other nations. With regard to the late unhappy differences, *he had admitted to the American Government, as a question of international law, that England was not entitled to insist upon the right of search.*"

He added that, from a conversation with the American Minister, there was every reason to believe that some understanding would be had for clearly verifying the nationality of vessels, without risking a breach of international law.

In the House of Commons, June 18th, Mr. Fitzgerald, in reply to Mr. Bright, stated that *the Government, acting under the advice of the Crown lawyers, had given up the right of search and of visit in time of peace*; but the Government had invited America to join in maintaining an ocean police. It was under consideration whether the squadron should be withdrawn from the Cuban waters, and replaced on the coast of Africa, and stringent instructions had been sent to commanders of cruisers, enjoining the strictest prudence and caution.

The London *Times* of the 19th instant, in a leading article, congratulates the British Government "*on having taken the advice of the law officers of the Crown, whose decided opinion is, that by international law, that nation has no right of search—no right of visitation whatever in time of peace.* Upon that opinion (it says) Lord Derby and his colleagues are prepared to act. *No English cruiser has the smallest right to interfere with any ship bearing the flag of the United States, save in so far as that right has been conferred.*"

But the statement of Lord Malmesbury, in the House of Lords, is as explicit as words can make it. No one can misunderstand it, who does not wish to do so. Lord Brougham, discussing the subject, reaffirmed the principle laid down by Lord Aberdeen. England claimed not the right of search, but the right of visit. "*The right of visit was a totally different thing from the right of search.*"

Lord Malmesbury followed, and in direct reply to this remark, stated that the American Government had always refused to admit that distinction, and that the English Government had at last admitted the principle of international law, as laid down by the American Minister of Foreign Affairs, although not until his statement of it "*had been approved and fortified by the law officers of the Crown.*"

"My noble and learned friend said that there was a difference between the right of search and the right to visit; that, although we have no right to search, we have a right to visit, in order to carry out the police of the ocean. The United States have constantly and categorically refused to admit that distinction. They say, that on no account, for no purpose, and upon no suspicion, shall a ship carrying the American flag be boarded, except by an American ship, unless at the risk of the officer boarding or detaining her. It is not long ago that we tried to obtain from all civilized nations an agreement by which our officers might know how far they should go in cases of strong suspicion, and be protected from the consequences of any mistake on their part of boarding a vessel of another country not liable to seizure. I tried to ascertain what license other nations would give in this respect; but I was anticipated by the French Government, who laid it down that no French ship should be detained, stopped, or boarded, but that certain forms should be gone through without detaining her, which, to a certain but very small extent, might ascertain her right to carry the flag which flies at her mast. I need hardly tell the House that I have not admitted the international law as laid down by the American Minister for Foreign Affairs, until that statement had been approved and fortified by the law officers of the Crown. But, having admitted that, I have put it as strongly as possible to the American Government, that, if it is known that the American flag covers every iniquity, every pirate and slaver on earth will carry it, and no other; that this must bring disgrace on that honored banner; and that, instead of vindicating the honor of the country by an obstinate adherence to their present declaration, the contrary results will follow—that the American flag will be prostituted to the worst of purposes. [Hear.] I shall continue to urge that it is necessary in these civilized times, with countless vessels navigating the ocean, that there should be a police on the ocean; that there should be, if not a right by international law, an agreement amongst nations how far they would go to verify the nationality of vessels, and ascertain their right to bear a particular flag."

As the official documents have not yet been published, we are compelled to rely upon such statements, from responsible sources, as show clearly what has been settled by the two Governments. We have been at the more pains in this matter, because the remarks of a portion of the American Press are calculated, unintentionally, we presume, to mislead the Public.

It is certain that we had a controversy with Great Britain; it is certain that controversy has been settled, to the entire satisfaction of the American Government. What it was, we all understand, or ought to understand. Lord Aberdeen, in his correspondence with Mr. Webster, in 1842, undertook to draw a distinction between the right of search and the right of visit. The right of visit was thus defined by a distinguished member of the House of Commons, the definition being adopted by the first Minister of the Crown:

"The claim of this country is for the right of our cruisers to ascertain whether a merchant vessel is justly entitled to the protection of the flag which she may happen to have hoisted, such vessel being in circumstances which rendered her liable to the suspicion, first, that she was not entitled to the protection of the flag; and, secondly, if not entitled to it, she was, either under the law of nations or the provisions of treaties, subject to the supervision and control of our cruisers."

This claim was distinctly asserted by Great Britain then, and has always been maintained until this time. This claim was denied and rejected by the American Government then, and has always been denied and rejected, while every attempt to enforce it has been met by prompt and stern protest, and an undisguised purpose of resistance. This was the controversy. The Senate of the United States, by its recent resolutions, unqualifiedly and unanimously sustained the American position. The New York *Evening Post* and the New York *Tribune* did not sustain it. They adopted and endorsed the distinction taken by Lord Aberdeen, and sustained the claim made by him and by the British Government in regard to the right of visitation. Believing it to be true, they had a perfect right to advocate it, and evinced true courage in uttering boldly their honest convictions, however repugnant to popular feeling.

But, nothing is more certain than that the British Government has at last abandoned the untenable distinction of Lord Aberdeen, surrendered the claim of a right to visit, as hitherto maintained, and assented explicitly to the opposite doctrine, laid down by Mr. Webster, held uniformly, since his celebrated Letter, by every American Administration, insisted upon in late despatches by General Cass, affirmed by the Senate of the United States at its late session, and steadily controverted by the *Tribune* and the *Post*. It is useless to attempt to perplex ourselves, or others, with doubts on this point. The *Post* may argue that the British Government has surrendered a right principle—but we submit that, in view of all the facts stated, it cannot, with any show of reason, deny that the surrender has been made. Lord Malmesbury certainly understands the the English language, and has as clear a conception of what he has done and intended to do, as the *Post* can have; and he says: "*I need hardly tell the House that I have not admitted the international law as laid down by the American Minister of Foreign Affairs, until that statement had been approved and fortified by the law officers of the Crown.*"

According to his own statement, he has admitted the American doctrine: that is conclusive. We cannot concede that the *Evening Post* understands better what Lord Malmesbury has done, than he does himself.

We congratulate the country and the friends of Peace all over the world, on the settlement of this protracted and dangerous controversy. That offensive claim of a right to visit our vessels to determine their nationality, has done more than all other causes combined to prevent perfect concord and good feeling between the two countries. This stumbling block out of the way, we can see nothing to disturb or weaken the most amicable relations. The manner in which the British Government yields the claim is graceful and magnanimous, and must give effect to her appeal to our Government to unite in some efficient measures to prevent the pirate and the slaver from seeking refuge under our flag.

We can now deal with the Question of the Slave Trade upon its own merits. The Administration can no longer, by clamorous complaints of the *violation* of our flag, divert attention from the gross abuse of it by slave-traders; or by its zealous support and vindication of a great Principle, keep out of view its indifference to the suppression of a great crime, denounced by our Laws as Piracy. It is true, we never assumed that, because our flag was abused by slavers, there was no harm in its being violated by British cruisers—that, because the President of the United States did not do his duty, the British Queen was justified in undertaking to discharge it for him—or that, because he was remiss in his action against an unlawful commerce, he had no right to maintain a Principle essential to the rights of lawful commerce; but, some very earnest opponents of the slave trade seemed to take a different view, and, in their zeal for the suppression of a great crime, without careful regard to the means, were disposed to admit a Principle subversive of the independence of this country. Let us rejoice, then, that by the final rejection of this Principle, on an agreement between the two countries, the efforts, hereafter, of the friends of Humanity can be harmonized and directed to a common policy.

The slave trade, we say, finds protection under the American flag. Had our cruisers proper instructions, the evil could be corrected to a great extent, and our country saved from dishonor. But, they have no such instructions. Congress has done its duty, and passed laws denouncing the trade as piracy, and providing for its suppression. That they are not carried into effect, is the fault of the Executive branch of the Government. Now, what is to be done? What do we do in other cases, where wrong or corruption prevails in defiance of law, by reason of Executive encouragement or delinquency? Appeal to a foreign arm, to foreign influence, for redress? No—we change the Administration; we turn out the disloyal President, and elect a loyal one, who, we believe, will ably and faithfully discharge his whole duty. That is the dictate of common sense. The suppression of the slave trade under the American flag, is an American, not a British Question. If the American People are determined to do it, they can do it—but never by electing Presidents imbued with Pro-Slavery ideas or under Pro-Slavery counsels. How long would the slave trade continue to find shelter under our flag, were Chase, Seward, or Hale, at the head of the Government?

Great Britain no longer claiming the right to visit our vessels, to determine their nationality, we have now to deal with the Question—How shall the slaver and pirate be prevented from finding shelter under our flag? and for the settlement of this question, we require a *Republican*, not a *Pro-Slavery*, Administration.

CRAFTY.

The Administration Democracy in Indiana and Illinois is pursuing a crafty policy. In Illinois, it pretends to abuse Douglas, when the truth is that the President, much as he dislikes him, is reinstating his friends, at the urgent solicitude of the South. We don't believe there will be any serious warfare between the two factions.

In Indiana, Administration Democracy pretends to dislike the Lecompton bill, but takes good care to punish the Democrats who oppose it. It sustains President Buchanan unqualifiedly, while it affects to be in favor of submitting the Constitution of new States to the People, for their judgment. This is all clap-trap—only fools will be tricked by it.

At their Convention in the 7th district of Indiana, they passed resolutions affirming the principle advocated by Mr. Douglas, but refused to renominate J. G. Davis, who had been true to it, and voted down a resolution approving of his course!

In the 4th Congressional district, the telgraph says, they nominated W. S. Holman, "as Anti-Lecompton candidate for Congress." The Washington *Union*, which sees through all this clap-trap, remarks:

"We dare say that the gentleman nominated sustains and approves the English substitute, occupying the same position as Hon. H. Secrest."

"The *Anti-Lecompton*" candidate of the 7th district!

Better put faith in the advertisement of "A Retired Physician," than in the resolutions of such tricksters.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

The Secretary of the Navy, as yet, has not definitely decided whether the new vessels, authorized to be constructed by a recent act of Congress, shall be built at the Government navy yards, or by contract with private parties. The probabilities, however, all tend to convince us that the former will be the course ultimately pursued; and it is likely the eight propellers will be built respectively at seven of the eight different navy yards, on or near the Atlantic coast. The side-wheel steamers, it is presumed, will be constructed at one of the California ports, as it is intended for service in the China seas, and will thus be much nearer its destination than if built on the eastern coast.

We feel confident, says the *Star*, that general orders will soon be issued, changing materially the position of a considerable portion of the Utah army, retaining in and about Salt Lake City perhaps not more than a third of the force; sending a strong force to look after the Indians within striking distance, who have of late years given trouble; and directing the balance of the army to return East. We come to this conclusion because the impresiion of its correctness prevails among those in Washington usually best informed on army matters.

We learn that the Navy Department is in recept, by the latest mail, of dispatches from Com. McIntosh, of the steamer Colorado, concerning his movements in relation to the matters of disputation between this Government and that of San Domingo, of which accounts have appeared in the newspapers. His communication is written from Aspinwall, and he says that when he was at San Domingo, President Baez was on the point of retiring from office, and the Government was to be assumed by Santana. The latter had written a communication to Com. McIntosh, in which it is said he expressed the most friendly sentiments; and from these indications it is argued that the existing difficulties between that Government and the United States will soon be amicably settled. The health on the Colorado is reported to be good generally.

The Administration contemplates ordering a larger naval force than we have heretofore had in the waters of Central America and the Gulf, not on account of any new demonstrations of interference by foreign Powers in that quarter, but with the general design of effectually protecting the lawful rights of our citizens, and guarding our national interests from jeopardy.

The Secretary of the Treasury invites sealed proposals, until the month of August, for $10,000,000 of the stock of the United States, to be issued under the act of the 14th of June. It will be reimbursable in fifteen years from the first of January next, and bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually. No bids will be received below par, and none for any fraction of one thousand dollars. In all cases, they must be unconditional, and without reference to the bids of others, and must state the premium offered therein. The successful bidders will be required to deposite the principal and premium of their accepted bids on or before the 1st of September.

The number of taxable slaves assessed in Mississippi in 1857 was 308,182, a gain of 18,450 from the previous year. At $600 each, the slave property of the State would be over 220 million dollars. The Jackson *Mississippian* asks Elihu Burritt to look at these figures, and calculate the prospects for the success of his scheme of compensated emancipation, when to buy the annual increase in Mississippi alone would cost eleven million dollars.

SENSIBLE ADVICE.

The *Springfield Republican*, which in past years has been a consistent Tariff journal, and we suppose is the same to-day in principle, gives to the manufacturers of Massachusetts and other States some excellent advice. It says:

"We have already chronicled the Philadelphia movement, looking for measures of protection through the modification of the Tariff. This movement, doubtless, aims at the establishment of protection as a political issue, and as a portion of a basis for a party; and necessarily puts far off the day of relief. We can hope for nothing in the way of a distinctively protective Tariff. This movement, doubtless, aims at the establishment of protection as a political issue, and as a portion of a basis for a party; and necessarily puts far off the day of relief. We can hope for nothing in the way of a distinctively protective Tariff from any Congress previous to that which follows the incoming of the next Administration, and that is three years and a half in the future. Such are the chances of politics, that even a reliance on this might fail, and the country be left even worse off than it is now. To every practical, sensible mind, the question naturally arises, as to what shall be done meantime. Is there anything that can be done? With the probability nearly as strong in favor of the establishment of the policy of free trade and direct taxation, as the reinauguration of the principle of protection, what shall be the best resort of the manufacturing interest?"

The present system of doing business among the manufacturers, the *Republican* goes on to say is a very defective one, and needs reforming. Relief, it argues, cannot come, while all the interest is eaten up by the commission houses, or by paying Presidents and Treasurers ten thousand dollar salaries. The *management* has not been economical; and if it had, with the low Tariff, there would have been fair profit. This is proven by Mr. Bigelow, a Massachusetts manufacturer of carpets, who "has just issued a pamphlet on this subject, putting forward the view that the failure of the manufacturing interest is attributable to a system of doing business radically wrong. Mr. Bigelow himself, we may say, stands forth as a living evidence of the fact. He has made a large fortune alone. He has conducted his own business, and stands behind it to-day with a long purse, pushing it on, and reaping all the benefits of low prices in his manufactures, without experiencing the severer evils of the time. His mills have not been stopped for a day, and he is to-day making money, though similar establishments, conducted by corporations, are stopped, or doing an unprofitable business. We suppose the fact to be universally recognised that the business of individuals and firms is better managed than that of corporations. We suppose the same fact, of general loose management, prevails with regard to manufacturing corporations and railroad companies alike. Men are placed in management who either do not understand their business, or who do not feel the responsibility of their position. Commissions are paid which make serious inroads upon the profits. Salaries are given which are, in fact, needless under the individual system; and when a time of revulsion comes, there is no reserve fund that will give adaptation to the times. Dividends stop, indebtedness accrues, the gate is shut down, and the hands are turned loose."

In view of these facts, what course should sensible manufacturers pursue? Stop their mills, and join a political movement, the sole object of which is the enactment of a higher tariff? Says the *Republican*:

"Now, in this emergency, is there not something better—more practicable—than the looking for relief in legislation which must be delayed for years, and then perhaps fail? Suppose we get the legislation desired, and a protective tariff be re-established; it may be reversed in two years. All experience has taught us that nothing is more fickle than legislation on the tariff. All experience proves that the tariff is entirely an unreliable basis for manufacturing operations. No investment is secure, which rests upon any special form that the tariff may assume at any one session of Congress. In our opinion, the manufacturing interest is somewhat in the position of the political loafer who attributed his personal unthrift to the Government, though everybody knew that it was the result of his own laziness and mismanagement. As some years must transpire before relief can come by legislation, we propose that so far, and as rapidly as possible, a reform be made in the management of these concerns. Perhaps, when the time comes that a change in the tariff shall be possible, *the change will not be desired.*"

THE FREE-LOVERS.—These singular and misguided people have already several communities in the country, and publish a paper in Ohio, which is their organ. The name of the paper is, the "*Age of Freedom.*" It denounces marriage, and goes in for the abolition of the institution. An exchange remarks, justly, that it is out of the power of these so-called reformers to do much mischief, for common sense and human nature, to say nothing of Christianity, are against them.

The New York *Times* says that there is an organization of free-lovers in that city, composed chiefly of the same persons whose meetings were broken up by the police a year ago.

VANDERBILT vs. BELLY.

It seems that the Frenchman, M. Belly, has been outwitted by a Yankee steamboat builder. Mr. Vanderbilt has made a contract with the Nicaraguan Government, by the terms of which the Transit route is to be opened in ninety days. He has paid down $100,000 for the privileges of the contract, the money has been received by the Nicaraguans, and they cannot retreat. A correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune* writes:

"Messrs. D. B. Allen and W. R. C. Webster left New York for Nicaragua on the 17th of June, taking with them $100,000 in money for the loan to Nicaragua, and a charter signed by the Government of Nicaragua on the one part and Cornelius Vanderbilt on the other. This charter to Vanderbilt will necessitate and secure the sending on of the Cass-Yrissarri treaty, or a document from the Nicaraguan Government *giving full power to the Government of the United States to protect its commerce and its citizens by force of arms in Nicaragua, if necessary.*

"The Cass-Yrissarri treaty does not protect one company or individual more than another; the Canal Company having proved themselves incompetent to open the line, and their charter revoked for incapacity and bad faith, the protection of the treaty extends to their successors. The Government of Nicaragua have been notified that military protection of our citizens engaged in opening or using the Transit *must* be conceded, and that no other treaty but the one already ratified in Nicaragua will be acepted by the United States. The *same causes that prevented the transmission of the ratified Cass-Yrissarri treaty are now operating in favor of its being sent on, and will compel its transmission.*

"The reason why the treaty was not sent on not only explains several dark points in our Nicaraguan negotiations, but proves in a remarkable manner the confidence reposed in Vanderbilt by the Nicaraguan Government, even after the agents of the Canal Company had exhausted all their paper testimony and arts of persuasion to destroy that influence.

"After President Martinez had signified to Vanderbilt's agent the intention of his Government to revoke the charter of J. L. White and the Canal Company, the agent, on his own responsibility, requested a delay in sending on the treaty until his employer should have ratified the charter which he had just then negotiated for him, assigning as a reason for the request, 'that if the treaty were sent on at that time, before Vanderbilt had completed his bargain and made his first payment, the Canal Company, utterly unable and penniless as they were, might still have it in their power to prolong the struggle by all kinds of misrepresentations and hollow promises, throwing themselves *under the shelter of the treaty*, and claiming to have acquired rights which the Government of the United States would be obliged to investigate before rejecting; that, by that means, the Transit would probably be closed for another year, by a series of absurd claims and fruitless negotiations, to the incredible injury of Nicaragua and great loss and harm to the United States, who might finally become inimical to Nicaragua because of the irritating delay and might entirely withdraw their protection.'"

We presume that we shall haer nothing more of a war with France, in consequence of M. Belly's canal speculations.

AN ELEGANT EXTRACT.

"The value of the Yankee as a slave has not been properly estimated. How dangerous and troublesome he is in a state of freedom is too well known. Cowardly, thievish, superstitious, fanatical, destitute of a moral sense or of any fixed idea of civil polity, he possesses all the worse and none of the better traits of the negro, and stands more in need of a master. His ingenuity has made him what he will forever remain—the mechanic and craftsman of the world. Under proper command, he makes a good sailor. Nor is he unfit for higher slavish duties. His active and unscrupulous intellect finds very suitable occupation in the vulgar labors of the lawyer and editor, also in the more disgraceful pursuits of the itinerant lecturer. But for his inability to discern between right and wrong, and his tendency to atheism, he might be put to use as a preacher. Whip him soundly for every political sermon, he would improve beyond what we think possible; but he will always be too hypocritical to be trusted."—*Richmond* (*Va.*) *Whig.*

The Richmond *Whig* is one of those Southern journals which are relied on to sustain the new national movement for a People's Party!

MEXICAN LAND.—The *N. Y. Times* is responsible for the following:

"Thirty-nine million acres of land—a large portion of it teeming with mineral wealth—is no small acquisition for any private company; but a citizen of the United States, a certain enterprising ex-sea-captain, by the name of Isham, now of California, sojourning, however, we believe, in Washington, is in possession of grants from the Mexican Government of double and treble that amount of acres. Some time during the Presidency of Comonfort, Captain Isham was in Mexico, and there entered into a formal and binding contract with the Mexican Government, to undertake and effect a scientific survey of the Mexican States of Lower California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Durango, for which service certain compensation and privileges, differing but slightly with reference to the different States, were guarantied to Captain Isham or his assigns. The terms of the contract generally thus conveyed to Captain Isham the following important concessions: 1. One-third of all the public lands of the aforesaid five Mexican States was granted in fee, on condition of the performance of the contract. 2. The accompanying right to pre-empt the remaining two-thirds on the same condition. 3. The surveying parties and colonies organized for the purpose of making surveys, have the privilege of importing all their instruments, material supplies, &c., free of duty. 4. The exclusive right of steam navigation between San Francisco or other American ports and Guaymas, or other ports in the Gulf of California, is secured to Captain Isham, his associates or assigns, for a term of years."

VERMONT REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Some of the Boston papers publish the following:

MONTPELIER, *June* 29, 1858.

The Republican State Convention met here this afternoon. A large number of people are present from different portions of the State, and considerable enthusiasm is manifested in favor of the different candidates whose names have been mentioned for the office of Governor.

The Nominating Committee not being ready to report, the Hon. Jacob Collamer was called on for a speech. On taking the platform, he was received with great applause. He spoke of the changes that had taken place in political parties since he first entered public life, and alluded in an able manner to the wide departures which our Government had taken, through the agency and corruption of the so-called Democratic party, from the early administration of the laws under the first Presidency. He had endeavored, while in Congress, to adopt such a course as he believed would prove acceptable to his constituents, for he was aware that the people of Vermont were in favor of Freedom. Indeed, it was a well-known fact, that the torch of liberty ever burned brightest among the mountains.

At the conclusion of Senator Collamer's remarks, the committee to nominate State officers reported as follows:

For Governor—Hiland Hall, of Bennington.
For Lieut. Governor—B. Martin, of Chelsea.
For Treasurer—H. M. Bates, of Northfield.

The report was adopted, with but two or three dissenting voices.

The Committee on Resolutions reported a series, renewedly avowing adherence to the platform and principles adopted at the Philadelphia Convention in 1856, and emphatically declaring abhorrence to Slavery, and finding cause for congratulation in the fact that Vermont holds up a bright record in relation to the fraudulent corruptions which have been sanctioned at the National Capital. The resolutions were adopted.

William C. Howard, M. C., of Michigan, then addressed the Convention in an eloquent manner.

A resolution offered by D. W. C. Clark, of Burlington, recommending that future State Conventions be composed of delegates from the different towns, was defeated.

The proceedings were quite harmonious.

Horace F. Clarke.

Mr. Clarke has written a letter, which will bring down upon him the anathemas of all the peculiar supporters of the Administration. He endorses the course of his colleague, Hon. J. B. Haskin, out and out, and says of the late reception to Mr. H.:

"Although it is impossible for me to be present upon the occasion, I cannot refrain from bearing in this mode my testimony to the distinguished ability and fidelity which has characterized his course in Congress upon the great question, which during the late session, was presented for its action. He proved himself true to his constituents, and true to the country. Amid all the scenes of the session, he bore himself with a courage so lofty, and with a zeal and devotion to the principles of the Democratic party so steady and unflinching, that he earned my constant admiration and enduring gratitude. When it was proposed, in utter violation of the principles of the Democratic party, to drag Kansas into the Union, enthralled in the chains of a Constitution abhorrent to her people, he rushed to the rescue—was almost the first in the field—and, to the last of the memorable struggle which ensued, stood firm and resolute upon the platform upon which his Democratic colleagues all stood when they accepted their trusts. No temptation swerved him—no intimidation dismayed him—and while one after another of those who, professing the same faith, and acknowledging the same allegiance, surrendered to a compromise quite as objectionable as the proposition which was the subject of their early and united resistance, he never faltered in his course, or failed to be ready to bear more than his share of the toil and dangers of the conflict. Such a Representative as I can bear witness Mr. Haskin has thus proven himself to be, is, in my opinion, entitled to receive the congratulations of those who regard fearlessness, and independence, and fidelity to honor and truth, as among the essential virtues of public men."

We believe it was predetermined to prevent Mr. Clarke from receiving the renomination of his party for Congress; but whether so predetermined or not, this letter will be likely to end the hopes of a Democratic renomination. It is not improbable, however, that Mr. Clarke will seek a nomination from the People, irrespective of party.

Utah Advices.

Despatches to the Government from the peace commissioners sent to Utah have been received, stating that they had arrived at Camp Scott, and were about to set immediately out for Salt Lake city.

From the tenor of these despatches, it seems to be considered that it would be highly imprudent to diminish our military force in Utah to any material extent. The hegira of the Mormons is understood in the camp to be for the twofold object of removing the female portion of the community, and those who are restive under the despotism of the Mormon rulers, from the threatened contact with the army. The hegira proceeds upon the idea that the orders of the army authorize only a march to Salt Lake city, and do not extend to authorizing a pursuit of the retiring people beyond the present theatre of settlements.

The opinion prevailing in the army seems to be, that a mistake has been made in allowing the Mormons time to gather their crops, as it puts them in condition, if they choose, to make a more protracted resistance, or to stand out much longer from a formal submission to terms, than they otherwise would be able to do.

It is understood that thorough preparations have been made to destroy Salt Lake city on the approach of the army, if it be thought advisable for the purposes of the Mormons. Opinions differ as to the destination of the Mormons—some thinking it to be Sonora, others a fine district of country entirely surrounded by desert, and difficult of approach for attack, to the southward of Salt Lake city.—*Washington Union, July* 3.

FROM EUROPE.

Halifax, June 28.—The files by the Arabia contain the following additional news:

England.—In the House of Commons, Mr. Fitzgerald, in reply to Mr. Bright, stated that the Government had received no further information in regard to the alleged outrages on American vessels. It was quite possible that the commanders of some vessels had exceeded their duties; and, if they had, the Government would be ready to make an ample and frank acknowledgment. It was obvious that the cases which had been published were grossly exaggerated. In proof of this, he read several cases, and added, that the American flag had been abused by those who were not Americans for the vilest purposes. He had entire confidence, that when these circumstances were known, and when the disposition of this country was known, all the difficulties would be amicably arranged. The Government, acting under the advice of the Crown lawyers, had given up the right of search and visit in time of peace, but the Government had invited America to join in maintaining an ocean police. It was under consideration, whether the squadron should be withdrawn from the Cuban waters, and replaced on the coast of Africa; and stringent instructions had been sent to commanders of cruisers, enjoining the strictest prudence and caution.

Mr. Roebuck thought the statement of Mr. Fitzgerald most conciliatory and satisfactory, but the disposition had not been imitated by America. The language used in the American Congress was unworthy of a great country. They had always assumed that England wished to insult them, but he hoped they would now learn that she had no such desire.

Mr. Barkelay asked whether, seeing that the marines and small armed men of the American navy are armed with breech-loading rifles, by which a man can fire three times for one by his opponent with the old weapon, any steps had been taken to place the naval forces of Great Britain on an equality.

Sir J. Pakington said that the trials were going on, and that when the result was ascertained, measures would be adopted in accordance with them.

In the House of Commons, on the 18th, Mr. Fitzgerald, in reply to an inquiry whether the Plenipotentiaries to China had been restricted in their powers, said there was no truth in the statement to that effect. The Plenipotentiaries had full discretionary powers to negotiate at Canton or Pekin, or proceed north, as they thought fit.

The debate in the House of Lords on the slave trade attracts the general attention of the press.

The London *Times* says:

"At the present time, it is evident that the struggle against the slave trade has reached an important crisis. It hangs on a thread, whether the policy of England during the last thirty years shall be abandoned or retained. The three States which, from their present power or their former prosperity, have the least share in the matter, are manifestly at issue with England."

It then proceeds to argue that the United States and France are equally guilty with Spain, and says it will never do to attempt coercion with weak Spain, and at the same time wink at the delinquencies of the more powerful States.

The London *Post* argues that England has done its duty in the matter, and that it rests with the people of the United States to say whether they will do theirs.

The London Daily *News*, on the same subject, urges the cultivation of cotton in Africa as the best solution of the difficulty.

The London *Times*, on the 19th, in a leader, congratulates the Government on having taken the advice of the law officers of the Crown, whose decided opinion is, that by international law we have no right of search—no right of visitation whatever in time of peace. Upon that opinion, Lord Derby and his colleagues are prepared to act by the law of nations. No English cruiser has the smallest right to interfere with any ship bearing the flag of the United States, save in so far as that right has been conferred by treaty. They will therefore withdraw the blockading squadron from the Cuban waters, and there is an end of our differences with the States upon this disgraceful subject.

Admiral Sir Charles Ogle, senior admiral of the British navy, died on the 16th inst.

Gen. Van Straubenzee, commander of the British forces in China, is made a Knight Commander of the Bath.

The arrivals of Australian gold for the week exceed four hundred thousand pounds; and other vessels conveying still more than this were looked for in a day or two.

The London *Morning Herald* says there is an augmenting absorption of money for trading purposes, and that the evidence of this is fully afforded by the character of the paper which is passing through the hands of the bankers and discount brokers, particularly that received from Liverpool and Manchester in London. Business prospects are also spoken of with more confidence, and the favorable state of the weather will assist to encourage transactions.

The Rev. Dr. Jabez Bunting, one of the principal members of the Wesleyan M. E Church, is dead, after fifty years spent in the ministry.

The King of the Belgians had arrived in England, on a visit to Queen Victoria.

A serious collision had occurred on the London and Northwestern railway, by which twelve persons were wounded and three were killed.

Mr. Russell, the special correspondent of the London *Times*, had been prostrated by a sunstroke in India.

General Summary of China News—Dates to April 23.

The fall of Canton produced but little perceptible change in the attitude and bearing of the Chinese Imperial Government. The dispatch from Pekin at Shanghae directs the four foreign Plenipotentiaries to return to Canton to meet the new Imperial Commissioner, the recently appointed Viceroy of the two Kwang provinces. Lord Elgin determined on advancing in the direction of Pekin.

The movement was delayed by the non-arrival of the British Admiral and the gun-boats. An English steamer was stationed at the Rugged Islands, near the mouth of the Yangtzee-Ceang, to await Sir Michael Seymour's approach, and to notify to him the sudden change in Lord Elgin's movements, who was on his way to join the Plenipotentiary.

Lord Elgin's emphatic declaration, in reply to the address of the Shanghae mercantile community, leaves no doubt that he is prepared to follow up his determination of proceeding to the "Peiho," and thence to Pekin, unless, in the mean while, a duly-accredited Commissioner from the China Emperor is delegated to meet the foreign Ministers, and to make those concessions and afford those guarantees which may warrant the expectation that the international relations between China and the countries of western Christendom may be satisfactorily adjusted, and grounds of present and future disputes be permanently removed.

There are not, says the *Friend of China* of April 23d, the slightest indications of the troubles at Canton interfering in any way to alter the pacific intercourse of foreigners with Chinese mandarins and people in the four northern ports, where the confidence and sense of security are in no way startled.

The Earl of Elgin was preceded a day by the Russian steamer America, with the Count Putiatine and suite; and followed on the 11th by the United States steamer Mississippi, with Mr. Reed; and on the 14th by H. I. M. steamer Audaceuse, with Baron Gros. Accompanying the Furious are the Pique, Nimrod, Slaney Lever, and Cormorant. With the Audaceuse are the Fusee, Primanget, and Phlegeton, and on the trail of the Mississippi are the Antelope and Minnesota—altogether a squad of fifteen vessels.

Canton matters wear a dull aspect. A rumor has been propagated, that Hwang-sung-han, the new Commissioner, is gathering forces as he traverses the country, and on his arrival off Canton will commence operations. At Fashan, the war party are still busy.

An American at Paris went to a restaurant to get his dinner. Unacquainted with the French language, yet unwilling to show his ignorance, he pointed to the first line on the bill of fare, and the polite waiter brought him a plate of fragrant beef soup. This was very well, and when it was dispatched, he pointed to the second line. The waiter understood him perfectly and brought him vegetable soup. "Rather more soup than I want," thought he, "but it is Paris fashion." He duly pointed to the third line, and a plate of tapioca broth was brought him; again to the fourth, and was furnished with a bowl of preparation of arrow root. He tried the fifth line, and was supplied with some gruel kept for invalids. The bystanders now supposed that they saw an unfortunate individual who had lost all his teeth, and our friend, determined to get as far from the soup as possible, pointed in despair to the last line on the bill of fare. The intelligent waiter, who saw at once what he wanted, politely handed him—a bunch of tooth picks. This was too much; our countryman paid his bill and incontinently left.

The New Gold Discoveries—Excitement at San Francisco.

At the sailing at the last steamer, the excitement about the new gold discoveries at the Frazer river was on the increase, and thousands were preparing to leave for the new diggings.

The following is an extract of a private letter to a gentleman in this city, dated the day before the sailing of the steamer:

"SAN FRANCISCO, *June* 4, 1858.

"You will be astonished to hear of the Frazer river excitement. There is not a doubt of the gold fields being extensive and exceedingly rich—as rich and large as the California placers of '49—and, if report be true, more rich. The excitement in the State is immense, and thousands are awaiting the news by the Panama, now coming. If she confirms former reports, there will be a grand exodus from here. This new gold field must start an immense immigration from the Atlantic States."

Frazer river empties into Puget's Sound, just north of the forty-ninth parallel, which forms the boundary between the United States (Washington Territory) and the British possessions. Had the 'fifty-four forty' vaunt of the Polk Administration been anything more than words and wind, the newly-discovered gold mines would now belong to us, and not to England. Nevertheless, they are open to emigrants from the United States, who may go there to dig, but not to trade—the latter occupation being reserved to themselves by the Hudson Bay Company.

A Monster Rattlesnake Killed.

Mrs. Cleveland, two miles south of this city, killed a rattlesnake while in the act of coming out of her cellar on Saturday evening, shortly after dark. She was first attracted by a hissing sound and the rattling of his tail coming out of the hatchway, when she proceeded to the barn and obtained a shovel, wherewith she returned, and seizing a candle in one hand and the shovel in the other, she sought out the whereabouts of his snakeship, and decapitated him on the hatchway. The snake measured about seven feet in length and about five inches in circumference, and possessed seven rattles in his tail. Mr. Marshall Dyer has him in his possession. It is doubtful whether many of the sterner sex would be found courageous enough to seek combat with a rattlesnake armed with seven rattles in the tail, with no other implements of war than a piece of candle and a short-handled shovel.—*Syracuse Courier.*

Exhumation of President Monroe's Remains.

New York, July 2.—The remains of the late President Monroe were exhumed early this morning, in the presence of the Virginia committee, Mr. Monroe, a nephew of the deceased, and others. The coffin, which was in an excellent state of preservation, was then taken to the church of the Ascension.

During the day, the flags on the public buildings and shipping were displayed; minute guns were fired from 3 P. M. until sunset, and the bells were tolled during the same period.

The procession passed down Broadway at half past four, the 8th regiment of National Grays and a company of the 71st regiment acting as an escort. The procession was a quarter of a mile long, and the sidewalks were densely crowded. The City Hall was reached at half past five, where the remains are to lie in state until to-morrow afternoon, when the 7th regiment will take charge, and put them on board for Richmond.

The Crops of Ohio.

The *Ohio Slatesman* has collected information respecting the growing crops from all parts of the State, and of such a character as to excite the most cheerful anticipations. Wheat is excellent, with occasional exceptions. Corn is coming forward handsomely. Fruit looks very indifferent.

Central American Affairs.

The Washington correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce* writes as follows:

"The Executive Government is engaged in this heated term in preparations for settling in our own way all matters pending between us and Nicaragua. As no treaties can be made with that State, or, if made, would be useless, the Government will take possession at least of the port of San Juan, and adopt such measures as may be necessary to reinstate our citizens in the enjoyment of the communication between the two oceans, across the Isthmus of Nicaragua. In the propriety of this proceeding, as well as in the reasons for its adoption, the Government of Great Britain concurs."

Mexican Affairs.

Some speculations are indulged by portions of the press, as to the effect of Mr. Forsyth's voluntary withdrawal from his post as Minister to Mexico, after advising American merchants not to submit to the decree of the Zuloaga Government imposing a tax upon all foreigners. The withdrawal seems to have been premature, to say the least of it, since the President who imposed the tax and ordered the seizure is himself no longer in power, and the probability is that Juarez, the successful chieftain, will annul the offensive edict, and order reparation as far as he may have the means of making it.

Vermont Politics.

Montpelier, Vt., June 29.—The Republican State Convention, held here to-day, nominated Hiland Hall, of Bennington, for Governor; Burnham Martin, of Chelsea, for Lieutenant Governor; and Henry M. Bates, of Northfield, for State Treasurer. Senator Collamer, Hon. W. C. Howard, M. C. from Michigan, and others addressed the Convention, which was largely attended and very enthusiastic.

Missouri Politics.

St. Louis, June 29.—The Republicans of the St. Louis Congressional district in Convention yesterday nominated Hon. Frank P. Blair, jun., for re-election to Congress by acclamation. Resolutions were passed, reaffirming the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson, denouncing the Administration, opposing negro equality, advocating the extinction of Slavery in Missouri, and the removal of the negroes from the State. Three full tickets are now in the field—American, Democratic, and Republican.

Indiana Politics.

South Bend, Ia., June 30.—The Ninth District Republican Convention met at Plymouth yesterday, and unanimously nominated Schuyler Colfax for re-election to Congress. The Convention was very largely attended.

Gubernatorial Nomination.

Portland, July 1.—The Democratic Convention at Augusta yesterday nominated Manasseh H. Smith for Governor. Resolutions were passed, strongly endorsing the Administration of Mr. Buchanan.

Death of Martin Koszta.

Martin Koszta, the Hungarian refugee, who was rescued from the Austrian authorities in 1853, by Commander Ingraham, of the United States navy, died recently, in very indigent circumstances, on a sugar plantation near the city of Guatemala.—*Panama Star, May* 25.

From Havana.

By the steamer Empire City, arrived at New York, we have accounts from Havana to the 23d instant. The letters report a total cessation of the visitation of our vessels by British cruisers. The United States fleet off the island made a very respectable appearance. The British gunboat Styx arrived at Havana on the 16th, from a cruise off the northeast corner of Yucatan, and thus pleads an alibi to many charges of outrage preferred against her. Amongst the passengers by this arrival is M. Felix Belly, on his way to France.

Earthquake at New Haven.

New Haven, June 30.—The shock of an earthquake was observed in various parts of this city at eleven o'clock last night. It was a light one, yet caused crockery to rattle, and was distinctly felt by many persons who were walking out.

P. S.—The earthquake of last night was observed in Woodbridge, seven miles northwest from this city; in Westville, two miles distant in the same direction; and in North Haven, seven miles nearly northeast from the city, where a second but slight shock was felt. The direction of the vibration seemed to be from south to north. The shock was also felt in Waterbury. There have been but two shocks of earthquake recorded as having occurred within in the last hundred years in this vicinity.

Letters have been received at the office of the American Colonization Society, from Liberia, to the 19th of April. The following extracts from letters of Dr. Snowden, dated at the interior settlement, Careysburg, March 25, will be interesting to our readers:

"Up to this date, the emigrants were well and doing well. Three or four of them have had slight indisposition. None have had a decided attack of African fever. Six of them have nearly completed their houses, and others are under way. Their town and farm lots are for the most part cleared off and planted, and some are even yielding. This company of emigrants have been here now *three months.* The first company of emigrants are also in a prosperous condition; all seem contented and happy; and, in short, industry appears to be the rule and order of the day.

"Under the present system, the emigrants at Careysburg are as well cared for as heart can wish. They are near their farms, have a tight, comfortable house, and a good table. Their diet is under regulation, and at any moment medical assistance can be rendered. They have every opportunity to complete their houses, so that at the expiration of their six months they will have only to move from the Society's good house to a better one of their own.

"This place maintains its sanitary reputation, which will be permanent; and it only requires a good cart road to some convenient point on the river, to make Careysburg the Saratoga of Liberia."

The cordial greeting extended to Senator Crittenden on the borders of his State followed him on his way into the interior. Popular demonstrations and complimentary speeches greeted him at all points. At Lexington, the venerable Chief Justice Robinson, who entered public life with Mr. Crittenden 41 years ago, welcomed him in a speech of much force and feeling. Of the Senator's action against the Lecompton measures, the speaker said:

"You have done as the Great Commoner would have done. Here, on this spot, standing as we are before this people, between Ashland and the cemetery where the shaft is rising in solid grandeur to mark his grave—here, between the living and the dead—between the home where the sage of Kentucky dwelt and his grave, bedewed by a nation's tears, I solemnly assure you it is our belief that, had the noble Clay been at your side, the course you have pursued would have been his. We, who knew him well, know he could not have done otherwise, without renouncing his life long cherished principles. Kentucky does and will sustain you. For your agency in the manly defence of the right, you are deserving of our love and veneration. Some day, living or dead, the gratitude of the country will be offered you for it—and that, too, with potent emphasis—by the South herself. Whatever be the judgment of others, we will be true to you. We approve all that you have done, and will stick to you and stand by you. Kentucky, your loving mother, will hug you closer to her bosom the more you are assailed. She will recognise you as the manly, independent, and patriotic servant who has devoted his life with filial piety and unselfish aims to her interests and the nation's welfare."

He then presented Mr. Crittenden as the favored Senator of Kentucky: John J. Crittenden, the American legislator and national statesman.

The death of Ary Scheffer, the great painter of France, is reported by the steamer at Halifax. He died at Paris about the 15th of June. Although an artist of the modern French school, Scheffer was born in Holland in the year 1795. But he received his whole art education in France, receiving instruction from Guevin, and enjoying all the opportunities of study that are afforded so liberally by the Paris galleries. He was a favorite of Louis Philippe when he was Duke of Orleans, and was instructor in art of his children, including the Princess Marie, who afterwards showed such talent as a sculptor. He has painted some large works for the gallery at Versailles, but he is most favorably known for his smaller works, his "Dead Christ," his "Francesca da Rimini," his illustrations of "Faust," "Wilhelm Meister," the "Giaour" of Byron, and others. He has been a devoted and hard-working artist in his latter as well as in his earlier days.

There are thirteen Douglas Democrats in the Minnesota Legislature; and these, with the Republicans, have adopted resolutions denunciatory of the Administration, and laudatory of Senators Douglas and Shields—Senator Rice not being so much as mentioned. This would indicate that no election will be possible in this Legislature for Mr. Shields's successor, for the term commencing next March, since the Administration Democrats will hardly care to support him, and the Republicans do not indicate a disposition to do more than praise him, hoping, probably, by waiting till next year, to supplant him with one of their own number. Selfish and short-sighted, both, is this.

Several prominent Douglas Democrats, holding postmasterships at Quincy, Peoria, and Jacksonville, Illinois, have been lately reappointed by the Administration. This either indicates a change of policy, carelessness, or want of any other kind of Democrats to take their places. The man appointed at Quincy is an editor, and talks out as follows:

"We shall regard our own reappointment as an approval on the part of the President of our general course as a Democrat and an editor, as well as of our official conduct. We shall regard it as evidence that he does not prefer the election of a Black Republican or a Know Nothing to the United States Senate, over Judge Douglas."

John T. Nixon of Bridgeton, Cumberland county, has been unanimously nominated for Congress by a "People's" Convention in the 1st (Clawson's) district of New Jersey, and having received a majority vote in a "Native American" Convention held simultaneously, the minority of the latter bolted, and nominated John H. Jones. Mr. Nixon is a lawyer of eminence, an old Whig speaker of the Assembly, and a supporter of Fillmore in 1856, but possesses the esteem of all parties, and will most certainly be elected.

The President has written to a prominent Democratic politician in New Jersey, that Senator Wright's subserviency to the Administration entitles him to a re-election next winter, or, if that is not possible, (and such will doubtless be the case,) that he be reserved for the gubernatorial campaign in 1859.

F. J. Grund, returned from Illinois, reports that Douglas will be beaten by the Administration in the election. Grund sails in the Persia to Europe, probably in secret diplomatic employment.

There are many wealthy colored people in Louisiana. At a sheriff's sale near Bayou Goula, on the 5th, a large plantation was purchased for $240,600, by the son of Cyprien Ricard, a free colored woman, who herself owns a large plantation in the neighborhood.

There is living at Mardisville, Ala, a negro named Jerry, 107 years old, who was formerly a body servant of Washington. He thinks Washington was a supernatural man, that all his acts and deeds were under the supervision of and directed by Providence.

CHARLES SUMNER.—The Boston *Daily Advertiser* prints the following extract of a letter from a gentleman of high character in Paris, to a friend of Senator Sumner in this city:

PARIS, *June* 17, 1858

The opinion of both physicians, approved by Dr. George Hayward, of Boston, was in favor of cauterization of the spine, in order to produce counter-irritation, and in this your friend Dr. Brown-Sequard, whose speciality is the nervous and cerebral system, fully concurred. He made several careful examinations, and came to the conclusion that there was still congestion of the integuments of the brain as well as other abnormal conditions. When the fact was announced to Mr. Sumner, and the exact process explained, of burning the neck and back with irons at a white heat, he at once said: "Try it without delay—in any form, and to any extent."

The operation was performed by Dr. Brown-Séquard, who wished Mr. Sumner to inhale chloroform. This he declined, and, refusing all anodynes, went through the painful process without a word or a wince. It has been repeated since, and will be again to-day for the *fifth* time.

The Rev. Dr. Jacob J Janeway died at his residence in New Brunswick, N. J., on Sunday last, in the 84th year of his age. For many years he was the pastor of the Second Presbyterian church of Philadelphia, and left that city to be installed as the President of the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa., where he remained for some years. He was also President of the Board of Missions, Trustee of the Princeton College, and prominent in numerous religious societies. Dr. Janeway was a distinguished writer on theological subjects. He united to the zeal of the Christian the graces of the gentleman as well as the acquirements of the scholar, and his memory will long be warmly cherished.—*Phila American.*

Probable Resignation.

St. Louis, July 1.—A dispatch from Leavenworth says that Gen. Denver intends to resign the Governorship of Kansas after the August election.

Our Minister to Mexico.

It is now stated with some degree of authority that there was a mistake in the telegraphic despatch, from New Orleans, which announced that Mr. Forsyth had demanded his passports and was returning home. It appears that Mr. F. had only demanded passports for such American citizens resident in Mexico as had resolved to leave the country rather than submit to the forced contribution of Zuloaga.

Vigilance Committee at Richmond, Virginia.

A handbill having been posted in Richmond, Virginia, calling a meeting of the citizens for this evening, to form a vigilance committee to suppress certain secret movements among the colored population, and to stop outrages on private property, Governor Wise addressed a letter to Mayor Mayo, calling his attention to the movement, and adding that he would use force in prohibiting such meeting from being held on the Capitol square. The Mayor in reply states that, knowing the author of the handbill to be one of the few rowdies of that city, he considers himself a "vigilance committee" enough for him and his comrades, and therefore deems it unnecessary to adopt any unusual measures against the proposed movement.

A British Pacific Railroad.

While the people and the Congress of the United States are talking about a railroad to the Pacific, quarrelling over its location, and devising new schemes of plunder in connection with it, England and Canada are actively engaged in the undertaking, and, with the advantage of having a shorter route, and a portion of their line completed. The idea is entirely new to us; but if our readers will take a railroad map, and see what a commencement of this work the Grand Trunk Railroad forms, its practicability will be evident at once. The Grand Trunk road has one terminus at Portland, the deepest port, we presume, on the Atlantic seaboard. The other eastern terminus is at Quebec, Montreal being, in fact, the principal point of shipping and trade. The road thus runs west *eight hundred and fifty miles*, passing through Toronto to the town of Stratford. From this point it is proposed to push it to Vancouver, on the Pacific shore, a distance of three thousand miles more. The Portland branch is built with British money. Thus, the English are 850 miles on their way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and are taking steps for the further progress of the work. We, in the mean time, are doing nothing towards getting into our hands the immense carrying trade between Asiatic and European ports.

The *Journal de l'Empire*, of Paris, gives the details of the movement in its present aspect. It seems that a great expedition is about to start from London, to be commanded by Col Elliott, of the royal engineers, and composed of a company of sixty engineers and a troop of forty men, under command of Captain Haig. At Vancouver these will be joined by one hundred men, who are to act as pioneers, selected from the most experienced and hardy servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Then the expedition will make its surveys for the completion of the road.

At Sarnia, situated at the foot of Lake Huron, and the opposite end of the river St. Clair from Detroit, the Grand Trunk Road is intended to take up for the benefit of Canada a trade which in 1855 amounted to sixty millions sterling—a trade which formerly went by Buffalo, and the withdrawal of which has caused the ruin of the Ontario and St. Lawrence lines of steamers already. In short, it is intended that the products of a large sweep of our Western country, the undeveloped resources of the vast regions of British North America, and the European trade with Asia, shall pass over this road, with important Atlantic termini both on British and American soil. The plan seems to be very comprehensive and complete, and to possess topical advantages and relations that will make Canada a powerful competitor with America in the race of empire. It will make of Canada a new realm. The enthusiastic French writer to whom we have alluded thinks that Sarnia will soon take the place of Buffalo, and Montreal that of New York, "blotting out, commercially, both these places from the high position they now occupy as trading cities." This will not be, though doubtless both may be interfered with in their growth, and take new relations—one to the trade of the country, the other to that of the world. Now, does it not appear important to do something for our own Pacific project? Here is an exigency. The world wants and needs this road; the British capitalists and the British Government have the land on which to build it, and a short and practicable route, with 850 miles of it completed. Can any one doubt that this immense enterprise will be pushed forward, when the stake played for is so great, and the facilities of the game are so apparent?—*Springfield Republican.*

The Hon. Albert Hobart Nelson, late Chief Justice of Massachusetts, died on Sunday last, at the age of 46 years. On account of ill health, he resigned his post in March last. He had successively held the offices of district attorney, member of the State Senate, member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, and Chief Justice of the Superior Court.

M. L. Bickford, of Waltham, has lately returned from a visit to Virginia, bringing back with him a colored girl of thirteen, whom her master emancipated, and has given her a fortune of $10,000. The interest is to be expended in her education, and the principal will come into her hands when she comes of age. She is a mulatto, with a modest, bright little face.

Southern men are urging Mr. Buchanan to bury the hatchet with Douglas, and save Illinois from the Republicans. Douglas insists on the dismissal of Lieb, Carpenter, &c.

Newspaper Change.

Pittsburg, July 3.—The *Daily Union*, hitherto a Democratic paper of this city, has been purchased by J. B. Kennedy, and will be hereafter an independent, anti-tax, morning penny paper, and is to be called "*The Press.*" The Pittsburg *Post* is now the only Democratic paper published in Western Pennsylvania.

Death of the Wife of Thurlow Weed.

Albany, July 3.—The wife of Thurlow Weed died to-day.

Movement of Troops.

St. Louis, July 3.—Two hundred and seventy-five troops of the 2d Infantry, under command of Lieuts. Hendershot, Conder, and Farrand, From Newport Barracks, arrived yesterday. They were transferred to the United States steamer Mink, and immediately proceeded to Fort Randall.

Further from Europe, per Steamer City of Washington off Cape Race.

St. John, July 3.—The steamer City of Washington, for New York, with Liverpool dates to the 23d ult., passed Cape Race yesterday.

It was rumored that Mr. Dallas was satisfied with the arrangements made by England on the cruiser question.

A fire had occurred at London, involving a loss of £100,000 sterling.

It is rumored that De L'Huys is to succeed General Pellissier.

MARKETS.

Liverpool, June 23.—Cotton is dull. Sales last three days 11,000 bales, including 3,000 bales for speculation and export. Prices easier, but unchanged.

Breadstuffs have been dull and prices nominal. Flour is very dull. Wheat is steady. Corn is dull.

Provisions.—The market is dull. Lard is quiet. Bacon is dull, and offered at a decline.

Money Market.—Consols for money 95⅞.

State of Trade.—Manchester advices now favorable. Prices unchanged.

Produce.—Turpentine is steady—sales at 48 cents on the spot and 43 cents on arrival. Rosin is dull at 4*s*. Rice is dull.

The Dudley Observatory.

Albany, July 3.—At a meeting of the Trustees of the Dudley Observatory to-day, the entire Scientific Council was dismissed, and Professor C. M. Mitchell, of Cincinnati, appointed Director. The President and Board of Trustees have been authorized to take legal possession of the property.

The Monroe Obsequies.

New York, July 3.—The remains of Monroe, escorted by the seventh regiment, reached the steamer Jamestown about noon, and were formally delivered over to the Virginia committee.

Non-Arrival of the Niagara.

Trinity Bay, July 6.—A dense fog has hung over the bay for two days, and it is now raining. There are yet no signs of the cable fleet.

Arrival of the City of Washington.

New York, July 6.—The City of Washington, from Liverpool on the 23d, has been signalled from the Hook. Her advices were telegraphed from Cape Race.

The Fourth in Baltimore.

Baltimore, July 6.—The day passed off quietly in this city, but there were several disturbances in the outskirts. A party of rowdies visited the woods, near the city, where a Sabbath School celebration was being held, and shot dead a boy fifteen years old, a son of Col. John T. Farlow. Great excitement ensued, but the perpetrator escaped. Several arrests were made.

Serious Railroad accident.

Trenton, N. J., July 6.—A serious collision occurred this morning, between a coal and a freight train, on the Belvidere road. Both locomotives and several cars were smashed. The conductor and fireman of the freight train were dangerously injured; the engineer of the coal train was badly scalded, and several others were slightly injured, but none killed.

Davis's Pain Killer.—"There is nothing in the shape of medicine selling like it in Canada. It is superseding and giving better satisfaction than any other article now in the Canada market."
E. HEATHFIELD,
19 London, Canada West.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, July 6, 1858.

Flour, Howard Street	$4.37	@	4.25
Flour, City Mills	4.00	@	4.25
Rye Flour	3.50	@	3.25
Corn Meal	3.25	@	3.50
Wheat, white	1.10	@	1.15
Wheat, red	1.00	@	1.05
Corn, white	74	@	77
Corn, yellow	74	@	70
Rye, Pennsylvania	70	@	80
Rye, Virginia	65	@	66
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	36	@	39
Oats, Pennsylvania	38	@	40
Clover Seed	4.50	@	4.37
Timothy Seed	2.50	@	2.25
Hay, Timothy	15.00	@	20.00
Hops	7	@	14
Potatoes, Mercer	1.30	@	1.40
Bacon, Shoulders	6¼	@	6½
Bacon, Sides	8¼	@	8½
Bacon, Hams	9	@	10
Pork, Mess	17.00	@	17.25
Pork, Prime	13.75	@	14.25
Beef, Mess	17.00	@	17.25
Lard, in barrels	10	@	10½
Lard, in kegs	11¼	@	12
Wool, Unwashed	00	@	00
Wool, Washed	00	@	00
Wool, Pulled	00	@	00
Wool, Fleece, common	00	@	00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00	@	00
Wool, Choice Merino	00	@	00
Butter, Western, in kegs	12½	@	14
Butter, Roll	16	@	00
Cheese	9½	@	10
Coffee, Rio	11¼	@	11
Coffee, Java	16	@	17

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Flour, State brands	$3.75		3 82
Flour, State brands, extra	3 95	@	4.00
Flour, Western	3.80	@	3.90
Flour, Southern	4.50	@	4.75
Rye Flour	3.00	@	3.50
Corn Meal	3.40	@	3.30
Wheat, white	1.03	@	1.07
Wheat, red	1.00	@	1.02
Corn, white	71	@	75
Corn, yellow	78	@	79
Rye	68	@	69
Oats	44	@	45
Clover Seed	7 00	@	8 00
Timothy Seed	2 12	@	2 37½
Hay	45	@	50
Hops	6	@	8
Bacon, Shoulders	6	@	6½
Bacon, Sides	10	@	00
Bacon, Hams	7½	@	7¾
Pork, Mess	16.50	@	16 85
Pork, Prime	13.50	@	14 20
Beef	11 00	@	11.50
Lard, in barrels	9½	@	11
Lard, in kegs	10½	@	11
Butter, Western	10	@	17
Butter, State	13	@	18
Cheese	4	@	8
Coffee, Rio	10¼	@	10½
Coffee, Java	15	@	16
Wool, Unwashed	00	@	00
Wool, Washed	00	@	00
Wool, Pulled	00	@	00
Wool, Fleece, common	00	@	00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00	@	00
Iron, Scotch, Pig	28.00	@	28.50
Lime, Rockland	1.00	@	0.00
Lime, common	80	@	00

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B. B. FRENCH, *President.*
L. CLEPHANE, *Secretary.*

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" L. S. Foster, Conn.: The Rights of White Men Vindicated.
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

AMERICAN PIRACY.

SPEECH OF HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS,

OF OHIO,

Upon the Joint Resolutions proposing Hostilities with England, on account of her exercising the Right of Visitation.

IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, JUNE 7, 1858.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I assure the House and the country that I entertain no apprehensions of war; nor have I any fears that war will grow out of any question now pending between this nation and Great Britain. Our present Executive is a Democrat, under the guidance of the slave power; and Southern statesmen are too sagacious to suppose that our nation can endure a war in support of the slave trade. In the present state of the popular mind, a war with that Power, for such a cause, would bring the institution to a speedy termination in every State of the Union. Northern members have no desire for war; they prefer the more tardy, but equally sure, method of effecting emancipation by force of public sentiment.

The imperfection of our language often leads to protracted discussion; I shall therefore avoid the use of *terms* as far as possible in what I am about to say.

"The right of *search*," as exercised upon the high seas in times of war, appears to be generally understood, and in regard to it there is no controversy; but for sixteen years our Ministers at London and the representatives of the British Government have been explaining to each other "*the right of visitation*," and a war is threatened, because lexicographers have failed properly to define that form of expression.

Now, sir, I shall not attempt to do that which so many abler men have failed to perform; but *I assert the right, and the* DUTY, *of the commander of any ship engaged in suppressing piracy, to ascertain the national character of any suspected vessel he may meet upon the high seas.*

I also declare it equally the duty of every captain, officer, and sailor, on board the suspected ship, cheerfully to give this information. The owner of the suspected ship, and the owner of the cargo, are bound by every moral consideration to require such captain and crew to give this information when demanded.

It is the duty of all statesmen, and of all Governments, to require the ships belonging to their citizens to furnish this information when suspected. This obligation arises from the fact that all nations are interested in exterminating pirates. But merchants, ship-owners, and seafaring men, are more directly interested in that object than any other class of citizens, and their obligations correspond with the benefits derived.

I will add, that for ages pirates have been regarded as "*outlaws*," at war with all nations, and all nations are supposed to be at war with them.

These rules have been held and practiced upon by this Government since we have been a nation. Many of the older members of this body will recollect, that after the close of the last war, the Gulf of Mexico was infested by pirates, whose headquarters appeared to be the Isle of Pines, lying at the west of Cuba. A naval force was engaged for a considerable length of time in accomplishing the destruction of those outlaws. Now, sir, during that whole expedition they visited every suspected vessel that fell in their way, no matter what colors it bore. They visited British and Spanish and French vessels, for that purpose, just as freely as they did those which sailed under our own flag. It was their duty to do so. I think their instructions will be found to contain orders to visit not only suspected *vessels*, but suspected *places*. And I believe the official reports now on file in the Navy Department will show that they faithfully fulfilled their instructions. They visited ships; they landed upon territory belonging to other nations; and I deny that England, or France, or Spain, ever uttered a complaint or demanded explanation. Indeed, the ships and people of those nations went further. Seeing our Government carrying on a war for the benefit of mankind, they lent our ships and men employed in that work every convenient aid and facility. And had a suspected ship bearing the British flag refused to make her true character known, her commander would have justly incurred the odium of aiding and encouraging piracy; or had the British Government denied our right to ascertain the character of suspected ships bearing the flag of that nation, we should have charged them with sympathizing with the pirates.

In these remarks I have described not merely our practice on that occasion, but on every occasion. I have described not merely the practice of our own Government, but that of every civilized nation. From the 4th of July, 1776, to this day, our practice, and the practice of Christian Governments, has been uniform, when operating against pirates, excepting that class, more technically called "American pirates," who, under the flag of the United States, are engaged in the African slave trade. These were formerly treated differently. They were not regarded as at war with mankind. They bore the flags of various nations, and pursued their nefarious vocations unmolested. But as Christianity extended, and its principles were better understood, this traffic in human flesh was seen to be a revolting crime, and most Christian nations pronounced it *piracy*, and treated those who pursued it as "outlaws," worthy of death.

Participating in this general view, the United States by express statute, prepared with great labor, examined and deliberated upon with great solemnity, and passed by the Senate and by this House, I think, without a dissenting voice, pronounced the *African slave trade to be* PIRACY, and those who followed that vocation to be *pirates*, worthy of *death*. The act was duly approved by the Executive, published, and announced to the civilized world.

At this point of my remarks, I lay down another proposition which, I think, will not be doubted or denied: By this important step, we as a nation became obligated, bound in justice and propriety, to treat those engaged in the African slave trade as *pirates*. That, as a Government, we are bound to aid and assist in eradicating this piracy from the earth. That it is the duty of our statesmen and citizens to lend all convenient assistance to the ships of Britain and of all other nations engaged in suppressing this piracy. That it is the obvious duty of the commander, officers, and crew, of every suspected ship, whether it bear American, French, Spanish, British, or Russian colors, cheerfully to give satisfactory evidence of her nationality, when called on for that purpose by ships actually engaged in the humane work of suppressing this traffic in slaves. If any officer refuse to give such information, the refusal constitutes evidence of guilt. In short, I lay down the comprehensive proposition, that so far as this Government is concerned, so far as our statesmen, our people, our merchants, our ship-owners, the commanders and crews of our merchant vessels, are concerned, we hold the same relation to the African slave trade which we hold to other piracies—bound by all the duties incident to piracy of any other character.

Now, sir, like all other propositions based upon clear and obvious justice, I think these will *not be denied*. No statesman will take issue upon any one of them. They will deny none of them. The only objection that can be raised against them is that which our Ministers at London have repeated a thousand times. They insist that British officers, in visiting our ships to ascertain their nationality, *may* abuse their power. I grant it; and no power was ever held by man, that was not liable to abuse. They also urge that British officers have committed wrongs upon our ships, when visiting them for the avowed purpose of learning their character; and *I* add that, in every such case, the British Government is responsible, and *has in every instance promptly granted indemnity*.

I do not believe that a single instance of such abuse has occurred, at any recent period, in the Gulf of Mexico. If any has taken place, I have no apprehension whatever that hostilities will follow; for I am confident that the British Ministry will, as in past times, explain, apologize, or indemnify those who shall be shown to have sustained loss.

Here I might, with much apparent propriety, leave the subject. But our Government is now openly engaged in efforts to overthrow the doctrines I have laid down—doctrines which commend themselves to the conscience and judgment of all reflecting men and of civilized nations. The absurd position now occupied by this Government, in regard to the slave trade, has been reached by slow degrees. We have taken one step after another in this downward course, until we now stand before the nations of the earth in the attitude of supporting this piracy. Historic facts will place this whole matter in a more conspicuous light than argument or refined logic.

Long before our Revolution, the people of these colonies complained to the parent Government of the existence of the slave trade as a grievance. In the Congress of 1774, the members formed an association for the purpose of discouraging the slave trade; and the author of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, set forth, in his draft of that instrument, "*that the British King had kept open markets where* MEN WERE BOUGHT AND SOLD," and assigned this as one of the reasons why the colonies should separate from the mother country. In the Convention which framed the Constitution, language equally denunciatory of this traffic was used, and Mr. Madison *informs* us that he himself declared, in Convention, that it would be wrong to admit in the Constitution that men *can hold property* in their fellow men.

Some of the States, however, felt desirous of continuing the slave trade for a time; but so strong was the sentiment of the people against that barbarous commerce, that it was deemed necessary to provide, by express stipulation, that Congress should not *prohibit* it prior to the year 1808. Before that day arrived, Congress passed a law for the total abolition of the African slave trade—the act to take effect on the 1st day of January of that year.

Unfortunately, by the same law, Congress provided that persons might carry slaves from one port of the United States to another, under certain regulations. This coastwise transportation of slaves was then supposed necessary for families who emigrated from one slave State to another, for at that day no such commerce was known as the inter-State slave trade. But this provision in the act of 1807 has for many years been prostituted to the protection of an increasing commerce in human flesh.

At the close of the war in 1814, both England and the United States felt the inconsistency which had characterized their action in the recent contest, by authorizing their people to butcher each other on the battle-field; and, having been regarded as two leading nations in the Christian world, they felt the propriety of abolishing this execrable commerce. Lord Gambier and his associates, acting for Great Britain, were distinguished men, and Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, James A. Bayard, and James Russell, Commissioners on the part of the United States, were conscious of the odium which rested upon our people by reason of their supporting this slave trade. By mutual agreement, they inserted in the treaty of Ghent the tenth article, which reads as follows:

"Whereas the *traffic in slaves* is irreconcilable 'with the principles of *humanity and justice*; and 'whereas both his Majesty and the United States 'are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its *entire abolition*, it is hereby agreed that 'both contracting parties *shall use their best endeavors* to accomplish so desirable an object."

I desire the Committee to mark the language of this solemn treaty. The two Governments mutually bound themselves to "*use their best endeavors to* ENTIRELY ABOLISH THE TRAFFIC IN SLAVES." This treaty stipulation had no more reference to the *African* than to the *American* slave trade. Under British laws, there was a commerce carried on between their West India Islands in the bodies of men; and we had authorized a similar commerce on the American coast, and the sages who formed this treaty had no conception that it was more criminal to buy and sell God's image in Africa, than in America. They intended this solemn stipulation to apply to the *crime*, and not to the *place of committing it*. If any member doubts this intention, I invite him to examine the remarks of Mr. Adams, made on that subject in this body, I think in 1842. Congress proceeded to carry out this stipulation, so far as the African trade was concerned. It passed a law declaring that commerce to be "*piracy*," and we assumed upon ourselves all the duties incident to that view of it. But during *forty-four years we have maintained the American slave trade*, in *violation of that treaty, in violation of* JUSTICE AND OF HUMANITY. Neither the treaty, nor the laws declaring the slave trade to be "piracy," changed or modified any principle or existing element in our moral obligations; these had been established by the law of nature and of nature's God; but our treaty and acts of Congress constitute an acknowledgment of the duties then resting upon our nation, and mark our subsequent recreancy to principle.

Having avowed these sentiments, our Government appeared to rest satisfied, without even an effort to abolish our coastwise traffic. That crime greatly increased, and produced large profits to those engaged in it. It soon became popular with slaveholders; and respectable men, who had surplus slaves, sold them to those who dealt in mankind, and they were transported to the barracoons of more Southern cities, where open markets were kept for buying and selling men. Slaveholders then understood that every owner of slaves was directly or remotely involved in the moral guilt of the slave trade; that every purchaser of slaves encourages and sanctions their *importation*. Every man who sells a slave thereby encourages the slave trade; and no reflecting mind can regard the coastwise slave trade less criminal than that which is carried on upon the shores of Africa. In truth, it was born of the African trade, and in its effects it is more atrocious, as its victims are more intelligent. It is thus that the African slave trade, the coastwise slave trade, the inter-State slave trade, the holding of slaves, the breeding of slaves, the selling and buying of slaves, are all connected and interwoven in one general network of moral turpitude, constituting an excrescence, a *cancer*, upon the body politic of our nation. The African slave trade constitutes the germ, the *root*, from which our American slave trade, and all the various relations of that institution in this country, have sprung. If the *tree* be piracy, it is clear that its fruit can be nothing else than piracy; and when the nation stamped that commerce as *piratical*, it proclaimed the guilt of every man who voluntarily connects himself with Slavery.

Men who aspired to moral, political, and social position, could not submit to this ostracism. They were constrained to emancipate their slaves, or render slaveholding *honorable*. To effect this latter object, the wheels of progress must be stopped; religion, civilization, and Christianity, must cease their onward march; slaves must be disrobed of their humanity, and transformed into chattels; and the Federal Government must become a patron of the slave trade, instead of using our best endeavors to "*entirely abolish the traffic in slaves*;" and Congress was called on to sustain and encourage it—to violate our plighted faith before the nations of the earth.

In 1834 two slave ships, the Comet and Encomium, one from Alexandria, and the other, I believe, from Norfolk, Virginia, bound to New Orleans, were shipwrecked upon British islands in the Gulf. The slaves of course became free, by landing on British soil. They were suddenly transformed from chattels into immortal beings, destined to an eternity of happiness or misery. The slave merchants returned to this city, chagrined and mortified. The people of the West Indies looked upon these wretches with contempt; our countrymen regarded them with horror, felt they were worthy of the gallows, rather than Executive favor. But the President, himself a slaveholder, involved in all the moral turpitude of these hucksterers in our common humanity, at once espoused their cause, and directed our Minister at the Court of St. James to demand compensation from the people of England for permitting their African brethren thus to enjoy their God-given prerogatives. A more arrogant and insulting demand was never put forth by one nation upon another. All understood that the laws of England knew no distinction between these masters and the slaves whom they claimed as property. Neither the people, nor the officers of the British Government, nor the King himself, had he been present, would have had any authority whatever for delivering one of these people to the custody or control of another.

Our Minister at London, however, was himself a breeder of slaves. That noble patriot, Daniel O'Connell, had refused to extend to him the civilities due to a Christian statesman, and he felt the more determined to make the Government of England dignify this "American piracy" by acknowledging it to be a legitimate vocation.

To effect this object, however, he saw but one course—that was, to regard the slaves as *property*, and *not* as *persons*. The crime for which indemnity was sought was so obvious, that *truth* could not sustain it. The laws which govern the moral universe forbid the idea that truth can subserve such iniquity; the claim must therefore be maintained by deception, by "FALSEHOOD." And in his official communication to the British Minister, Mr. Stevenson declared, "*Our Government has determined, in the most solemn manner, that slaves 'killed in the public service of the United States, 'even in a state of war, were to be regarded as* 'PROPERTY, AND NOT AS PERSONS, *and the Government held responsible for their value.*" I need not repeat what I said of this unmitigated falsehood sixteen years since. I then pronounced it false in the concrete, and false in its details, and called on the friends of Mr. Stevenson, and the delegation from his State, to cite an instance where the Government had ever paid for a slave killed in the public service. The assertion was not only false, but the reverse of his assertion was true. In every instance where compensation for slaves killed in the public service has been claimed, we have *refused payment*.

Sir, I feel humbled, as an American, as a Christian, when I proclaim these facts. Our nation was disgraced in the presence of the civilized Governments of the earth, when its accredited Minister thus condescended to slander the people of this Union, and libel this republican Government, in order to support piracy, and do honor to men so worthy of the gallows. But the falsehood answered his purpose; the British Minister was deceived, the people of England were defrauded of one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, and the first step in rendering the slave trade honorable was successfully taken.

The next step was to constrain Northern members of Congress to legislate for the distribution of this money. The slave power insisted that we should sanction the proceeding of the Executive. A bill passed the Senate for that purpose, and those interested attempted to force it through this body, under the previous question. I obtained the floor by strategy, and uttered a protest against sitting in this hall to legislate upon the price and value of immortal beings. The bill, however, passed, and Congress thus far contributed its influence to render American piracy honorable.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, has this Government lent its moral and political influence, through the Executive and Legislative departments, to violate, to blot out, its solemn obligations proclaimed in the treaty of Ghent, instead of using its best endeavors to *entirely abolish* the "*traffic in slaves*." We have lent our utmost endeavors to uphold, encourage, and render it honorable. We have done this through dishonorable means—through fraud and falsehood. Sir, could this Government be subjected to its own laws, it would be liable to fine and imprisonment *for obtaining money under false pretences*.

In making these remarks, I am aware that I shall incur the criticism of those who say they will "stand by our country, *right or wrong*." The maxim is atheistic. I will stand by my Government when it is in the *right*, but when it is *wrong* I will do what I can *to set it right*.

During the session of Congress in December, A. D. 1835, a slave ship was fastened to yonder wharf. It was the Enterprise, waiting her cargo. They were purchased in this District; many of them were members of various churches, and one was said to belong to the minister who officiated in the same church of which the slave was a member. The whole cargo was gathered here, under the eye of the President and of various ministers of the Gospel, and was said to be *respectable*.

Some of the victims, however, were not satisfied with their lot. They preferred death by their own hands, rather than meet the horrors of Southern barracoons. One of them, a young woman, threw herself from the Long Bridge into the Potomac, seeking a watery grave as a relief from the horrors of this "American piracy." Her sad fate excited the attention of one of our most talented poets, who has commemorated the sad story in beautiful verse. But the cargo was completed, and the victims taken on board, after the manner practiced upon the African coast. Indeed, so far as the slave trade was concerned, there was nothing to distinguish this city from the many slave factories of Africa. The sails were hoisted, lines cast off, and the glorious flag of our Union raised. The ship departed under the stars and stripes which may be seen upon nine-tenths of the slave ships that leave the African coast.

But the winds of heaven were more favorable to human rights than our Executive or Congress. The ship was driven far out of her course, and, after three weeks of tempestuous weather, the owners of the slaves being on board, preferred running into Port Hamilton, in the island of Bermuda, and subjecting their slaves to British laws, rather than risk their own lives by remaining longer at sea. The slaves of course became free as soon as they came under the protection of British enactments. Those laws had jurisdiction not only upon the island, but they extended a marine league from the shore. This had been the opinion entertained, and the doctrine admitted and enforced, by all civilized nations, for a century previous. This Government had practiced upon it, and still practices upon it.

But our Executive had undertaken to uphold this American slave trade, and our Minister at London was at once instructed to obtain compensation for the slaveholders. The effrontery manifested in prosecuting such a claim serves in some degree to mitigate the contempt with which every honorable, every high-minded statesman must look upon it. Of course, the British Minister respectfully declined all negotiation upon the subject. He was conscious that his Government as well as ours was bound by the treaty of Ghent to use her "*best endeavors to entirely abolish the traffic in slaves*." Nor could he see any good reason why England should disgrace herself by an open and obvious disregard of her solemn compact, even if the Government of the United States requested it. England had faithfully carried it out by entirely abolishing it among the people of her West India islands. She had gone further, and abolished Slavery in all her dominions, and was then using her best endeavors to suppress it on the coast of Africa. She now refused to stain her honor by encouraging this *American piracy*. The slaves had been voluntarily brought within the jurisdiction of her laws *by direction of their owners*, and were free. Nor could her statesmen discover any good reason why the people of England should pay speculators in human flesh for their loss of human cattle.

The genius of Mr. Calhoun alone appeared equal to the emergency. He stood acknowledged at that time the most able and conspicuous of Southern statesmen. He saw that the law of nations in regard to the local jurisdiction of each Government must be modified, entirely changed, before any plausible argument could be advanced in favor of this claim. He therefore introduced resolutions into the Senate, declaring, that when a ship or vessel enters the port of a friendly Power, through stress of weather or unavoidable accident, she carries with her the laws of the State from whence she sailed, and the persons on board in all their relations are controlled by the laws of such State. In another resolution he declared that the slaves on board the Enterprise, while lying in Port Hamilton, continued to be legal slaves. The movement was a bold one.

I was at the time a member of this body, and well recollect the astonishment expressed by members of the House at these propositions.

Mr. Webster was regarded as the ablest statesman of the free States. He was a Whig, and believed to have some aspirations for the Presidency. All eyes were turned to him; the hopes of the free States appeared to rest on him, more than on any other man. We felt that an easy victory and high honors awaited him in the contest about to come off.

The resolutions were presented on the 4th of March, 1840, and came up for consideration a few days subsequently, when Mr. Porter, of Michigan, a young member of that body, spoke against them. They were then formally referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, who reported them back with some verbal amendments, but substantially as introduced; and with due formality and solemnity they came up for final action on the 15th of April. Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, and perhaps one or two other Senators from the slave States, spoke in favor of them, declaring their readiness to sustain the institution at any sacrifice; but no voice was raised for humanity, for justice, for the honor of our nation. Mr. Webster was silent, and the record shows that the vote in favor of the resolutions was unanimous. The names of Mr. Webster and other Northern Whig Senators *do not appear on the roll of votes* given on that occasion.

It is not for me to characterize that act. The pen of the historian yet remains paralyzed in regard to it. My own political pathway has been rugged; storms have raged around me, and many years have come and gone, but the emotions of my own mind on that occasion will not soon be forgotten. I saw, or thought I saw, as clearly as I now realize the effect and tendency of that act, it was intended to stop the wheels of progress, of civilization, and restore the heathenish doctrine, that "*Africans have no rights which white men are bound to respect*." The advocates of the slave trade then felt that the Senate was fully committed to the support of this "American piracy." It constituted the most important step then taken towards the position which the Executive and his supporters now occupy.

When Mr. Tyler became President, he called Mr. Webster to the Cabinet, and that distinguished statesman was soon constrained to wield his moral and political powers either for or against this slave trade.

On the 27th October, 1841, the brig Creole sailed from Hampton Roads, with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves on board, bound for New Orleans. It will be borne in mind, that when out from shore at the distance of a marine league, the laws of Virginia ceased to hold jurisdiction over the ship or the persons on board, and they became subject to the exclusive jurisdiction and laws of the United States; and I need not say that these laws had made no provisions for holding men in slavery upon the high seas or in our territories outside the District of Columbia. The moment the ship passed from the jurisdiction of Virginia, these people, by force of law, became clothed with the attributes of *freemen*.

The slaves on board the Creole were conscious of this, from intuitive conviction. Their own immortal natures spurned the doctrine asserted in the Senate, and, under the guidance and promptings of that innate love of liberty which throbs in every human heart, they asserted the rights bestowed upon them by the Creator. One of the slave-dealers attempted forcibly to maintain the doctrine avowed in the Senate. Here, again, that God-given reason, which every man possesses, taught these people, reared in ignorance, in slaveholding stupidity, that the slave-dealer was a *pirate*, had incurred the just penalty attached to that crime, and they at once inflicted upon the miscreant the punishment due to his iniquity. I leave it for casuists to determine whether he was more guilty than those who encouraged him in his accursed vocation. These quondam slaves, now FREEMEN, taking possession of the ship, extended mercy to the other slave-dealers on board, and directed their course to Nassau, in the island of New Providence, and went on shore, seeking their own happiness.

I well recollect the scene which occurred in the Senate when the news of this transaction reached this city. The members of that body were even more excited than they have been recently. They then threatened to send our ships of war, and *and sink those British islands*; now they only talk of sinking the British *navy*. It might prove instructive to gentlemen of the present age to read the high-sounding threats and epithets used at that day.

Mr. Webster was now Secretary of State under a slaveholding President, associated with a slaveholding Cabinet. He was therefore constrained to speak and act for the slave trade; or, if he refused such action, he would be constrained to resign his office. He preferred the former course, and the intellect of that great man, who had been the pride of the free States, was now exerted to carry out the doctrines for which a few months previously he had declined voting. It was a great victory for the Slave Power. Christianity then lost one of its ablest champions. Forgetful of that eternal justice which sits enthroned above all earthly power, he sent instructions to our Minister at London to demand of the British Government compensation for the loss which the slave-dealers had sustained. In these instructions he assumed the whole theory of Mr. Calhoun, and even characterized the persons who had most righteously gained their liberty as *mutineers and murderers!* Pardon me if I speak frankly. My lips were then sealed, under the gag-rules of this body; I was not permitted to utter the emotions of my soul in regard to this slave trade. I consulted with my venerable friend, Mr. Adams. He felt the outrage as keenly as mortal could realize it. I proposed that he should present to the House resolutions declaring the law of nations and of the Constitution. I shall never forget his manner and appearance, as he assured me that he was *old*, that the influence of Mr. Webster was great; that the contest would occupy years of severe labor; that he could not expect to live long enough to get the public attention turned to it.

I drew up a series of resolutions on the subject, stating what I believed to be the established law of nations, and the constitutional duty, resting upon Congress, to *abstain from all support of this slave trade*. They were prepared with much caution and study. They were submitted to Mr. Adams, for his consideration. He approved them. I presented them to this House. They may be found at length on the Journal of this body for the 21st March, 1842. They denied, in the most emphatic language, the right of the Executive, or of Congress, or of this Government, to involve the people of the free States in a war to maintain a *commerce in human flesh*. To that doctrine I still adhere; I reiterate the sentiment; I tell the President and the Senate that a war in support of the slave trade, either *African* or *American*, will not be sanctioned by the people, nor by any civilized or Christian nation.

The scenes which followed the presentation of my resolutions called public attention to the subject. The press spoke out; the people reflected and discussed the subject; and for a time the Senate became silent in regard to it. The British Minister ceased for a time to be cajoled or misled to the support of this "American slave trade,"* and for a time I believed the downward tendency of our Government toward its present position was stayed. Great Britain pursued a steady and Christain course, using her best efforts to suppress this commerce. She induced France, and Russia, and Austria, and Prussia, to unite with her in granting to the armed vessels of each nation, while cruising within certain degrees of latitude, near the African coast, to *search* the suspected ships of the others, for the purpose of detecting those engaged in this piratical slave trade. Lord Aberdeen appropriately styled it "*a holy alliance*," but our Government refused to become a party to this arrangement, and thereby brought upon itself the well-founded suspicion of encouraging the slave trade. It was notorious among the nations of the earth that we were maintaining an *American* slave trade. Both were founded on a denial of the law of nature, the rights of humanity; both rested upon the same infidelity to God and to mankind. All men saw, and all men now feel, that it is most inconsistent for us to maintain and encourage this slave trade upon our own coast, and condemn as pirates those engaged in the same trade upon the African coast.

Our present Secretary of State was then Minister at Paris, and he, as a representative of our Government, wrote and spoke, and used his entire influence, against the quintuple treaty referred to; and as it became more generally known that we favored the *African* as well as the American slave trade, pirates frequenting the African coast adopted our flag, as it would protect them from *search* when near the African coast.

In July, 1842, Lord Ashburton arrived in this city, as Minister Plenipotentiary of the British Crown, specially appointed and authorized to treat with our Government on pending difficulties. Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, in his first official communication with his Lordship, dated August 1, 1842, before alluding to any other matters, entered into a long and elaborate argument to induce his Lordship to enter into some treaty regulations for securing those engaged in our American slave trade from sustaining loss when their ships happen to be wrecked on British islands, or driven by stress of weather into British ports. He mentioned the two cases of the Creole and Enterprise, to which I have referred, and urged the propriety of making provision for securing slave-dealers when thus unfortunate. The proposition, if adopted, would have been a repeal of the tenth article of the treaty of Ghent, by which both Governments had bound themselves to "*use their best endeavors to entirely abolish the traffic in slaves*." It would have reversed that covenant, and bound them to use their best endeavors to *support* the "traffic in slaves."

Thus, sir, our own records, the records of Great Britain, bear proof to the efforts of our nation, in FAVOR *of this traffic in slaves*; in favor of providing, by treaty stipulation, for its *permanent protection and encouragement*. Would, sir, that this record were expunged from existence; that this disgrace of our nation could be blotted from the moral universe. But, thanks to Lord Ashburton, thanks to the British nation for their adherence to Christianity, and their resistance of this heathenish, this barbarous commerce in the bodies of women and children. Lord Ashburton refused to enter upon such a negotiation, and thereby saved our nation from the proposed disgrace, and, bringing the power of truth and of Christianity to bear upon Mr. Webster, he obtained a further stipulation from our Government *against* this commerce, and covenant to carry out the objects avowed in the treaty of Ghent.

But no sooner had this solemn covenant been entered into, than all other and collateral influences of the Executive were exerted for the protection and encouragement of this African as well as American commerce.

All now present recollect the case of the Amistad, a Spanish slave ship. Her cargo had been imported from Africa in June, 1840, for the Cuban market. The Amistad took fifty-three of these people on board at Havana, with the intention of carrying them to Principe, on the south side of that island. Those ignorant Africans spurned the doctrines of our Senate, our Secretary of State, our Executive, and of those Spanish pirates; and, obeying the Divinity which prompted each heart, they stood forth in the dignity with which God had clothed them. By the physical power with which they were endowed, they asserted their God-given prerogatives of Liberty. The captain and cook endeavored to carry out the doctrines of our Senate; but the negroes, by the dim light of their own moral natures, pronounced the men who attempted to enforce such doctrines, *pirates*; and the captain and cook were tried, condemned, and executed, in less time than I have occupied in relating the incident. They then took possession of the ship, sent the crew on shore, and directing the two slave-dealers whom they retained to navigate the ship to Africa, were betrayed, the pirates directing the ship's course to our own shores.

As soon as they came within the jurisdiction of the United States, they were *arrested* by authority of our Government. Instead of being hospitably entertained, *they* were placed on trial, and the Spanish *pirates set free*. The Executive, with all these facts before him, sent a national ship of war to the coast of Connecticut, with orders to take these victims of the African slave trade on board at the earliest possible moment after the court should refuse to give them their liberty, and to transport them back to Cuba at the expense of our people, and *deliver them over to the pirates who claimed them*.

But, thanks to our Judiciary, it had not then become so corrupt as to declare that "*Africans have no rights that white men are bound to respect*." They ordered the Africans set free; and the Executive was defeated. But Mr. Polk, Mr. Pierce, and Mr. Buchanan, have had the consummate effrontery repeatedly to advise Congress to compensate those Spanish pirates from the pockets of the laborers of *our nation*; and I will not disguise the fact, the Senate have almost as often attempted to carry out the Executive recommendation, by passing bills to pay these Spanish slave-dealers, and render the African slave trade honorable. But this body has, in every instance, defeated such attempts.

By the treaty of Washington of 1842, we covenanted to supply a naval force of eighty guns to be stationed along the African coast, with orders to use their efforts to arrest all pirates engaged in the slave trade. This treaty was published to the world, but the manner of executing it is not so well understood by our people. It is said, by men who possess intelligence on the subject, that we have never sent to that coast a ship or vessel worthy to be employed in that service. On this point we have no record evidence; but the prominent fact that our ships thus employed have entirely failed to accomplish the object contemplated, is known and read of all men. It is said they have captured some three or four slave ships, while the British ships of equal force have captured as many scores. We know the zeal and ability and ambition of our officers and seamen; and if the Executive had given them ships adapted to the service, and expressed to them his desire to see this slave trade abolished, they would never have fallen behind the British in this duty. No stronger evidence of bad faith in pretending to carry out this treaty could have been placed on record.

At that period of our history, the Executive began a system of efforts to relieve African slave-dealers from the odium of piracy, which our enactments and those of other nations had placed upon them.

In 1841, our Minister at London remonstrated with Lord Palmerston against the practice of armed ships engaged in suppressing the slave trade visiting vessels sailing under the flag of the United States, to ascertain their nationality. I repeat, that in all past time this practice had been followed by the armed ships of all civilized nations, when cruising for pirates. As shown at the opening of my remarks, it was *conceded by all nations*, it was *practiced* by all nations. It was then, is now, and ever will be, the law of nations. Our Minister attempted to confound this right, however, with the right of *search*.

By this use of *terms* he was enabled to prolong the discussion. Senate document No. 377, 1st session 29th Congress, gives incontestable proof of the ability of our Minister to misunderstand the clearest definition of rights and terms. Mr. Stevenson declared the visitation of a cruiser to a ship, for the purpose of learning whether it was a pirate at war with all mankind, or an American vessel entitled to protection under the United States flag, was nothing less than the right of search, so odious to the American people. To this the Earl of Aberdeen replied, in somewhat emphatic language:

"The undersigned again renounces, as he has 'already done, in the most explicit terms, any 'right on the part of the British Government to 'search American vessels in time of peace. The 'sole purpose of the British cruisers is to ascertain whether the vessels they meet are *really 'American or not*. The right asserted has in truth '*no resemblance* to the right of search, either in 'principle or in practice. It is simply a right 'to satisfy the party, who has a legitimate interest in knowing the truth, that the vessel is actually what her colors announce. *This right 'we concede as freely as we exercise.* * * * It is 'possible that this right may be wantonly and 'vexatiously used; and if, in spite of the utmost 'caution, any American vessel should suffer loss 'and injury, *it would be followed by prompt and* 'AMPLE REPARATION."

Yet our Federal Executive, through our Minister at London, has continued to protest against the interruption of vessels sailing under the American flag, to ascertain *whether they be pirates or not*; and the influence, the moral power, of the Administration, has been exerted for the protection of the very traffic which we profess to hold in utter abhorrence.

Slave ships are, and for many years have been, built in our own ports, under the very eye of the Administration. Indeed it is said, and I believe with perfect truth, that more ships, now employed in the African slave trade, were built in the United States than in all other portions of the world. We know that in every seaport there are many officers of Government who would be vigilant and ambitious to learn the character of every vessel built in such port, if conscious that the President desired such information; and the fact that he permits slave ships to be built, and furnished, and sent out, is conclusive evidence that he is in favor of the practice.

Again: the Democratic press of the South—those friendly to the Administration—proclaim the restoration of the African slave trade a favorite political measure. Southern Senators have urged the withdrawal of our naval force from the African coast, in order that we should not appear to hold the African slave trade in abhorrence; and Democratic members of both Houses of Congress urge its restoration.

Within the past year, we were informed by the Southern press that slaves direct from Africa were landed upon our Southern coast. Southern Conventions for years have publicly discussed the propriety of restoring this slave trade. They propose to carry our Government back to the position occupied a century since by the British King—to restore the barbarous practices of a darker age; and their only hesitation in making this doctrine a test of Democracy appears to arise from the fact that it would be unpopular in our free States.

Our present controversy arises from a disposition on the part of our Government to respect the slave trade—to render it honorable, instead of treating it as piracy, and those engaged in it as *pirates*; and strange to say, the entire Senate appears converted to his doctrine. As a nation, as a Government, we have declared its character, and proclaimed an exterminating war upon all who are engaged in it. We have declared them *enemies to mankind*, OUTLAWS worthy of death. They are so regarded and treated by other nations. To carry on this war, we are bound to contribute all reasonable aid and assistance. Every citizen of this Union is bound to aid in this war for the rights of our common nature. And I declare it the duty of every captain, every officer and sailor, who holds our flag sacred, to aid in preserving it from the dishonor to which the present Administration is seeking to prostitute it. It is their duty, when suspected of piracy, to cheerfully relieve themselves of such suspicion by making their true character understood; and I assert that it is the right of every British, French, Russian, Austrian, or Prussian cruiser, or the cruiser of any other nation, while seeking to destroy these outlaws, to demand of any American ship, or the ship of any other nation, her true character, whether she be a *pirate*, or entitled to protection under the flag she bears; while our own cruisers hold the same indisputable right to learn the character of any and of all suspected ships sailing under the flag of any other nation. If our Administration be determined to modify this law of nature and of nations, this principle of justice, of evident propriety, they will find insurmountable difficulties. I trust, I hope, the British Ministry will not recede from its position. They are acting for humanity. The feelings and sympathies of the Christian world are with them in their efforts to eradicate this piracy from the earth. Truth and justice are with them. That higher law of eternal righteousness which sways the destinies of nations and of the world is with them. I would not place our Government in opposition to these attributes of the Creator. I would bring it into harmony with those principles of justice, those laws, which govern the moral world.

I know the vastness of our cause. We are constrained to meet the machinations of the Slave Power at every step of our progress. Let us meet them boldly, *candidly*, TRUTHFULLY. Let us consecrate ourselves to this holy work of separating and purifying our Government and people from this piracy, this moral contagion which now poisons all the veins and arteries of this mighty nation, and must, if not soon stayed in its progress, produce political and moral death to the body corporate.

* For fourteen years, the claims of our Government in behalf of the slave dealers on board the Enterprise and Creole were resisted by the British Ministry. But Mr Pierce, while President, induced them to submit the question of indemnity to an umpire, who is said once to have been a citizen of Boston. He adopted the doctrine of the Senate and of Mr. Webster, and in 1854 decreed full indemnity to these men, so richly deserving the gallows.

Lord Lyndhurst tells a good story *apropos* of his surrender of the great seal of the English Ministry in 1846. "When I went to the palace," says his Lordship, "I alighted at the grand staircase; I was received by the sticks, gold and silver, and other officers of the household, who called in sonorous tones, from landing to landing, and apartment to apartment, 'Room for the Lord High Chancellor of England.' I entered the presence chamber; I gave the seals to Her Majesty; I had the honor of kissing her hand; I left the apartment by another door, and found myself on a back staircase, down which I descended without any one taking any notice of me, until, as I was looking for my carriage at the outer door, a lackey bustled up, and, with a patronizing air, said, 'Lord Lyndhurst, can I do anything for you?'"

Some Buchanan editor says Forney and his friends, who have deserted, are nothing but the tail of the Democratic party. So now the party is like the swill-milk cows, "stump-tail," and Prentice suggests that it be called by this name hereafter.

Correspondence of the New York Times.

SLAVE TRADE TREATIES.

WASHINGTON, *June* 22, 1858.

I have rarely read a more interesting document than the message of the President, under the date of 21st April, to the Senate, communicating the correspondence between the American and British Governments, on the African slave trade. The public was first apprised, through the correspondence of the *Times*, that, after the receipt of many communications on the subject from her Majesty's Government, Gen. Cass had made a general and comprehensive reply, fully setting forth the views of this Government. The correspondence was, in due time, called for by the Senate, and now appears in pamphlet.

The first paper shows "the ruling passion strong in death." It is a note of three lines from Mr. Crampton, dated May 24, 1856, furnishing, for the information of the State Department, memoranda from the British Commissioners at Loanda, west coast of Africa, as to the mode in which the slave trade was carried on in the year 1855. Three days after the receipt of this letter, Mr. Crampton was peremptorily dismissed.

The Commissioners assert that on the 31st of December, 1855, a vessel believed to be American shipped 500 slaves from a point on the coast of Benguela. They proceed: One Lucas, a notorious slave-dealer, driven off in 1853, had lately reappeared; had offered fifty or sixty "milreas" per head for slaves.

Aug. 2, 1857.—Lord Napier informed Gen. Cass of the cases of the brigantines Adams Gray and W. D. Miller, of New Orleans. It appeared, from the report of the British Consul at Lagos, that about the 1st of February, 1857, the Adams Gray was captured by the British steamer Prometheus, with all the usual equipments of a slave cargo, and with $20,500 in specie. She threw overboard her Spanish-American papers, and, having no evidence of nationality, was condemned.

The captain of the W. D. Miller was more audacious and astute. He kept his American papers, sailed boldly through a fleet of British merchantmen in Lagos Roads, was pursued, showed his American papers, and avowed that the purpose of his voyage was to ship slaves.

On the 16th of September, 1857, Lord Napier sends to Gen. Cass a resolution of the House of Commons, praying her Majesty to use all practicable means to suppress the slave trade, to which her Majesty graciously responds that she will.

Oct. 19.—Commodore Conover, commanding American squadron on the coast of Africa, writes to Mr. Toucey concerning the capture, by Commodore Wise, in the British steamer Vesuvius, of the brigantine Bremen, wearing American colors. It appears that on the 10th of October, 1857, the Bremen was overhauled by the Vesuvius—that Commodore Wise went on board, saying, in effect, "I do not want to see your papers, which I know are fraudulent, but shall take the vessel, and I now give you the choice of being taken under the American flag or otherwise." The captain said that, if taken as an American, he would be liable to be hanged as a pirate, and threw his flag and papers overboard. This conduct Commodore Conover thought unwarrantable, and he sent to Commodore Wise a protest against it, remarking that this practice of the British commanders sufficiently shows why so many vessels are taken without colors or papers—the reason being, in brief, that the masters are induced to destroy them by the threats and misrepresentations of the British boarding officers.

Oct. 13, 1857.—Edward Gabriel, who appears to be British Consul or agent at Loanda, states that the American vessel Onward had been captured by the steamer Electo, without any papers of nationality. The ship or barque Charles, of Boston, was found by the steamer Sappho embarking slaves at Caveca de Cabra, (Copper Head;) was chased, and ran upon the breakers, by which incident 200 slaves were drowned, 358 rescued, and the captain and crew, with part of the slaves, escaped. The Myrmidon caught an American brig near the same place.

The Consul is grieved to inform the Commodore that slavers, under the American flag, infest the coast in greater numbers than ever before. Among those then prowling about for slaves, he names the barques Petrel and Clara B. Williams; the schooners Crimean, Louis McLane, and Windward, and the brigs Jamestown and Bremen. A good-sized fleet, it must be admitted, for an illicit and persecuted traffic.

Oct. 19, 1857.—Com. Conover sends a strongly-expressed protest against the seizure of the Bremen to Rear Admiral Sir F. W. Grey. He declares the act in contravention of the treaty of the neutral rights of Americans, and of the right of the American Government to catch and punish offenders against her own laws.

Dec. 24, 1857.—Lord Napier sends a long and important dispatch to Gen. Cass, covering the whole subject of the slave trade. He describes eight cases of vessels being taken and condemned as slavers while wearing the American flag. In addition, he stated that Portuguese men of war had captured the Gen. Pierce and the Splendid—of which the latter was fitted for the reception of a thousand slaves. These ten vessels were all captured during the "earlier months of 1857." Lord Napier then proceeds to give a list of nineteen other American vessels believed to be engaged in the slave trade. Among them are the Spirit of '76, the Putnam, and the James Buchanan. The case of the North Hand was peculiar. She had been chartered for the ostensible purpose of conveying food to the starving inhabitants of the Cape de Verde Islands. The British Minister caustically observed: "In this affair, where benevolence was made subservient to crime, the notorious house of Figaniere, Reis, & Co., was busy." Mr. Figaniere is Consul of Portugal in New York. After remarking that the American complement of vessels and guns under the treaty was not at all times kept up, Lord Napier concludes with more general moral reflections on the slave trade.

April 13, 1857.—Commissary Judge Crawford, at Havana, writes to the Earl of Clarendon, that for many years the expeditions to the coast of Africa have not been so numerous as now; that he has good reason to know that fifteen vessels had been fitted out for the slave trade in New Orleans within two months.

August 4, 1857.—The British Commissioners at Havana report that the Spanish brig Three Brothers has been altered, and rechristened with the American name Eliza, and sent off on a slave voyage. Also, that the American ship Hydra, 499, brigs Windward and Brahman, the schooner Niagara, and the Peruvian ship Architect, were in Havana, preparing for slave voyages. An American, named Drinkwater, calling himself a resident of Portland, was the purchaser and outfitter of all these vessels. The Commissioners say the W. D. Miller, the same American brig which, about May 11, 1847, was boarded by British officers near Loanda, showed American papers, and declared the object of their voyage was the slave trade. This same vessel landed near Sierra Morena, in Cuba, 415 Bozals, and was then burnt. Ten days before this occurrence, 600 were landed at Vertientes.

Feb. 2, 1857.—Mr. Gabriel writes from Loanda to the Earl of Clarendon, that "the whole, or nearly the whole, of the slave trade at present carried on at this part of the coast is for the supply of Cuba, and pursued under the American flag."

The same authority says: "Only three vessels were captured on the coast south of the equator in 1856." One of them was the Gen. Pierce, which was seized on her third voyage for slaves. As the chief haunt of the slavers is the mouth of the Congo, he suggests that an American vessel of war be immediately stationed off that coast.

July 6, 1857.—The British Consul at Lagos writes Lord Clarendon, that all the slave vessels then arriving on the coast were covered by the flag of the United States.

Oct. 10, 1857.—A letter of this date, probably from a private seaman on board the Cumberland, gives a humorous and contemptuous account of the boarding of the slaver Cortez, in the river Gambia. The proofs of her being a slaver were about as clear as that there is water in the sea; but she was not molested, though visited by boats from the Cumberland. This Cortez is the same vessel whose capture, one day out of Havana, and condemnation at Jamaica last April, caused the commencement of the excitement relative to British aggressions.

Jan. 7, 1858.—Lord Napier furnishes to Gen. Cass the particulars of the destruction of the barque Charles, of Baltimore, on September 19. Lord N. estimates the number of slaves on board this vessel at 1,200, "of whom only 358 could be saved." This is the same vessel so often spoken of in correspondence.

Jan. 15, 1858.—Lord Napier, to Gen. Cass, states that the Charles cleared at New Orleans with a manifest that might have awakened the suspicions of the Federal authorities and justified the detention of the ship. In the same letter he describes several captures of American slavers by the Queen's ships, and the escape of the James Buchanan with 300 slaves, though chased by the Teazer, with steam and sails, for 140 miles. Old Buck was always good at foiling the British.

Aug. 12, 1857.—Capt. Burgess, of the Hecate, writes that a new company for slave trading had been formed at Havana, called the "Expedition for Africa," shares $1,000, which are posted on the Exchange.

March 8.—Gen. Cass writes to Collector Hatch, of New Orleans, stating that Lord Napier had imputed blame to the officers of the Custom-House at that place, for allowing the Charles to be cleared.

March 18.—The Collector replies, that the Charles was cleared before he assumed office; but that the schooner Louis McLane was cleared, notwithstanding his opposition, in the face of undoubted evidence that she was to be engaged in the slave trade. She was arrested, and the case was tried in the Circuit Court of the United States. The proceedings were a naked and expensive farce, and the vessel sailed to Africa, and was captured.

April 10, 1858.—Having collected all this information, and poising himself upon the pinnacle of this accumulated correspondence, Gen. Cass comes down upon Lord Napier and the public with fourteen pages of imperial octavo, not traversing any fact stated by Lord Napier, but presenting in a rambling desultory manner the views of this Government on the African slave trade, and all the questions connected with it.

I will not criticise the document further than to say that it is one of which this Government ought to be ashamed. It admits the flagitious character of the slave trade, but petulantly and querulously objects to any and all measures which are, or have been, proposed to suppress it.

In truth, Gen. Cass does much worse than this, because, after expressing the hope or the wish that the trade were rooted out, he proceeds to notice, with real pleasure, and with unsuppressed exultation, that it was not to be suppressed at all, because of the renewal of the business in the disguised form of the emigration system.

Feb. 19, 1858.—Minister Mason writes to Gen. Cass an important letter on the French scheme, in which he makes the statement that Count Walewski told him (Mr. Mason) that the "British Government would not object to the French scheme while the wants of the British colonies were being supplied by the Coolie trade."

Judge Mason then goes off into a page or two of temperate and dignified condemnation of French and British fanaticism relative to Slavery, which he supposes will find in this new measure of the Imperial Government a rebuke which it will deeply feel.

ARISTOCRACY IN HAVANA.

Aristocracy, as the term is understood here, is one of the things which I consider most difficult to explain. If it is defined as proceeding from old inherited nobility, I could cite many instances of people who are generally considered as belonging to the Havana aristocracy, who, on the other hand, are designated by public opinion as having sprung from humble ancestors; so humble, indeed, that even mulattoes are counted among them; while the right of ranking with the aristocracy is denied to some who are descendants from illustrious parents, and who possess the true nomenclature of noble origin.

The same might be said in regard to riches. Many poor families have such exalted ideas, that they will not hesitate to invite to their parties all those persons who, on account of their birth, can contribute to give brilliancy to their circle, but will strenuously refuse to admit wealthy or otherwise respectable people, if they be not considered of a noble origin.

The aristocracy of science, I believe, has never existed, nor are any hopes entertained of its ever being established; and as to that virtue, my friends think that it will be almost *impossible to form it*. *One of the most powerful reasons* they allege, and one which in my opinion is conclusive, is that persons of vicious character are admitted as visiters in the best families, and though an universal cry be raised against the assertion, I believe it, because experience has taught me its truthfulness. I have been obliged to meet, in circles which are styled "select," with a man who had failed twice, an occurrence which is here considered a public swindle—also with a forger, who boasted of his conduct, which fact seemed to prove that he had no fear of incurring any public contempt—also, with a married man, who a few years before had eloped with a female cousin of his—and finally with a judge who was publicly considered a robber.

I have also seen in "select society" women who were generally reputed as being of bad character; and what is most singular is, that many notoriously virtuous mothers do not hesitate to cultivate their acquaintance, and allow their daughters to visit them. These women are certainly few, and well known, for the generality of Cuban ladies, as I have before remarked, are honorable and pure. Good mothers endeavor, besides, to excite the scorn of their children towards these persons, by censuring their behaviour, and many such characters retire voluntarily from intercourse with respectable people, and frequent only the society of those who agree with them in opinion.

The necessary requisite to allow persons to mingle among the aristocracy, according to the general belief, is, that their ancestors, on their arrival in the country, should have been distinguished persons (*de viso*;) and such a name is either given to a wealthy man, or to a real and well-known nobleman, or at least to a person filling a high and important station. If their first appearance was miserable, they will not be considered as aristocrats, no matter what degree of riches, what number of titles, or what important offices they may afterwards obtain.

The leading object of conversation being commonly the genealogy of persons in any way remarkable, their origin and claims are always discovered. This opinion seems to be supported by a fact of very frequent occurrence: when the award of any title of nobility is published in the papers, the person in whose favor the distinction has been made may be assured that in all circles his origin and the condition of his ancestors are sought after, and if there was among them any Spaniard who came to Cuba poor and obscure, or any person whose claims to a purely Caucasian origin are not well founded, it will become widely known, though ages may have elapsed since the occurrence.

Though well aware of the truth of these facts, I will not alter the opinion set forth in the first paragraph, and the only satisfactory explanation of the enigma would be, to suppose that all the descendants of those who were once noble, are also noble, though they may have *degenerated*, or fallen from their former rank. Such is the case with illegitimate children of noblemen, who are respected everywhere, though their mothers belonged to the lowest grade of the populace.

A very handsome woman married about twenty years ago a Spaniard, who, not wishing to suffer any longer the effrontery of his unfaithful wife, went back to his native country at the end of three years, leaving behind him two children. His wife never left the Island, and he never returned; but the number of children is continually increasing; and all, amounting already to half a dozen, bear his name, because, according to the Spanish law, "*Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant.*"

☞ The following gentlemen have already been named in connection with the next Presidency: Howell Cobb, Senator Bright, Senator Hunter of Virginia, Speaker Orr, John Slidell, Senator Brown of Mississippi, Postmaster General A. V. Brown, Jacob Thompson, D. S. Dickinson, John Letcher, Vice President Breckinridge, Stephen A. Douglas, R. C. Winthrop, Governor Wise, R. J. Walker, Crittenden, Bell, Fillmore, William L. Yancey, Seward, Banks, Chase, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, G. A. Grow of Pa., Judge McLean, Mayor Swann of Baltimore, George Cadwallader, Humphrey Marshall, Sam Houston, and B. F. Wade.

George Shattuck, of Exeter, N. H., had his face completely crushed by a piece of wood thrown with great violence from a circular saw, on Tuesday, and his life is in doubt.

Holding office in Utah is no joke, and not very dignified, if this passage from the correspondence of the *Tribune* is as true as it is graphic:

"I have seen the Governor of the Territory walking gravely up the road, toward his tents, carrying a piece of stove funnel under each arm; I have seen the Chief Justice cutting the turf for a chimney, and punching the oxen which were drawing logs to build his cabin; the Secretary of State splitting wood, and the U. S. Attorney and Marshal plastering the walls of their hut with mud. Yesterday I saw one U. S. Commissioner, stripped to the buff, and riding on horseback, piloting a wagon through a ford across the South Platte, which he had discovered by wading, while the other Commissioner, having accomplished the passage, sat upon a corn sack on the opposite bank, mending a rent in his pantaloons. These pictures may convince you that the civil officers, at least, in connection with the Utah expedition, are not sinecures."

Charles Dickens has met, by a full, emphatic denial, the scandals which certain London journalists and letter-writers have recently set afloat with reference to his family relations. Until further advised, we shall believe that he states the truth, and that the gossip of his traducers had but a narrow basis of fact, if any. It seemed from the first improbable that he, the father of a family of grown-up children, and never till now blown upon by the breath of scandal, could have deliberately exposed himself, in the autumn of life, to such gossip. Most likely he had some momentary difference with his wife, which the tale-bearers aggravated into a serious alienation, and then invented infidelity on his part to account for that alienation.—*New York Tribune.*

Mr. Everett relates an anecdote of the British General Clinton, in the revolutionary war, who, while living at the Battery in New York, was accustomed to take a nap every warm day in the summer house in the garden attached to his residence. He was observed by a Yankee, who reported through spies, to Washington, that Clinton could easily be captured. Hamilton came into the room while Washington was consulting with the messenger relative to it, and said to the Commander-in-chief: "Do not listen for a moment to the suggestion, for if Clinton be captured, the British Ministry will send a capable man to take his place. Clinton is just the man we want."

The European and American snobs in Paris, who have been greatly exercised about the legitimacy of a live Yankee who sports a card entitled "Major Franklin W. Fish of Connecticut 2d Foot Guards, U. S. A.," may be consoled with the reflection that the commission of the Governor of Connecticut is worth just as much as any of the titles freely conferred by the pauper Princes of Germany. Major Fish is just what he professes to be, although a little inconsistent with his past Democratic creed.

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